423 hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring
226 bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in
[224] Kondô Juzo's *Sô Ezochi Go Yôgai no gi ni tsuki
Kokoro e Sôrô Omomuki Moshiage Sôrô Kakitsuki*
[*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance
of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fish-
ing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo
[476] make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band
and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro
area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing
ground for the upper river or Yûbari Ainu and the
lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

476 This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utiliza-
tion as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shû Ryaku-
setsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A
country was like a district, a district like a village, a
family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they co-
operated and they distributed to those unable to work."
In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> 476 There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they
> 183 built their own houses, cutting down available trees and
> [426] grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes,
> they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth
> ● [341] which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It
> has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation
> [241] but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after
> the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the
> [261] poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed
> alone. They dined together and shared what they had
> [264] to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very
> little food it was given to the old or to the children. For
> [858] the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one
> to look after them food was carried to them at each meal.
> [888] Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from
> fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat
> as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter
> [276] how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a
> smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After
> [273] one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine
> was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yûrabu every one of
226 the villages went out to fish during the salmon season
and distributed their catch among all and when someone
224 killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a
431 long distance around and they, meeting him and pre-
senting him with homemade millet cakes, would be
given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed
was cooked and the people went to the home of the
[602] hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the
portion of meat given might differ according to the

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[25] *Kondô Seisai Zenshû* (Complete works of Kondô Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hôsei, *Hokkaidô Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidô Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirô, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidô Shakai Jigyô*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fûzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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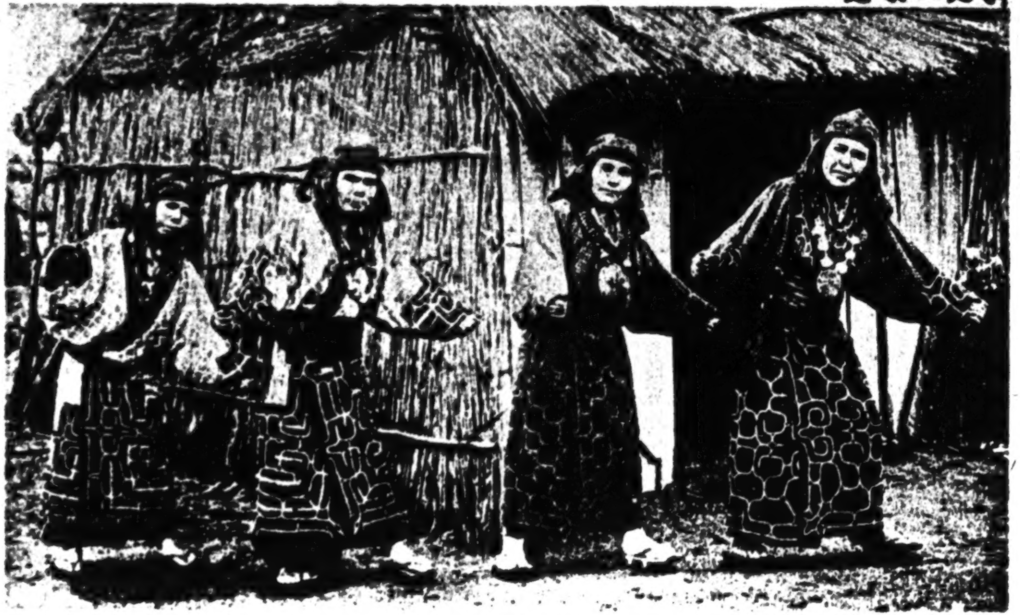
[P.14(A)]



AINU WOMEN DANCING

155 the Japanese warriors who appear. They were the
158 old-time enemies of the Ainu in common with them. He told me, furthermore, that they were pit dwellers.

172 That some people certainly did live in pits in
342 Hokkaidō and also in Saghalien cannot be doubted, the superstructure of many dwellings being in form very like the ice houses of the Esquimaux. But that they were a race of dwarfs remains yet to be proved. There are no human remains of such, nor are there any place-names other than Ainu in Hokkaidō, excepting those brought here by the Japanese. In the year 1878 I saw hundreds of the remains of these dwellings in the shape of pits, particularly at Kushiro. Some of the excavations suggested old fortresses, and from the heaps of stones they contained one might very reasonably infer that these were missiles used in fighting by those who occupied them.

It has already been shown that the aborigines of ancient Japan were called by a name which means, when translated from the Japanico-Ainu, "Dwellers in earthen houses," *i.e.* just "Pit-dwellers." In Saghalien the name for such dwellings is, *tocke*, "earth houses." They were built over shallow pits which were about three feet deep. The superstructure consisted of poles set up and bent over at the top ends; they were well covered with bark, straw and earth. There are stories which tell how the Tungusic inhabitants of Saghalien used to attack these dwellings by sudden swoops upon them, riding on reindeer, stuff lighted grass down the holes used for the smoke to escape from, kill the men as they rushed out, and take the women and children captive. We are informed that the Ainu gave up living in such pit-dwellings many years ago and the present inhabitants of Hokkaidō have quite forgotten all about such houses. The remains of them now to be seen mean nothing to them. The northern Ainu say they abandoned them because they were so stuffy. When used now, it is only

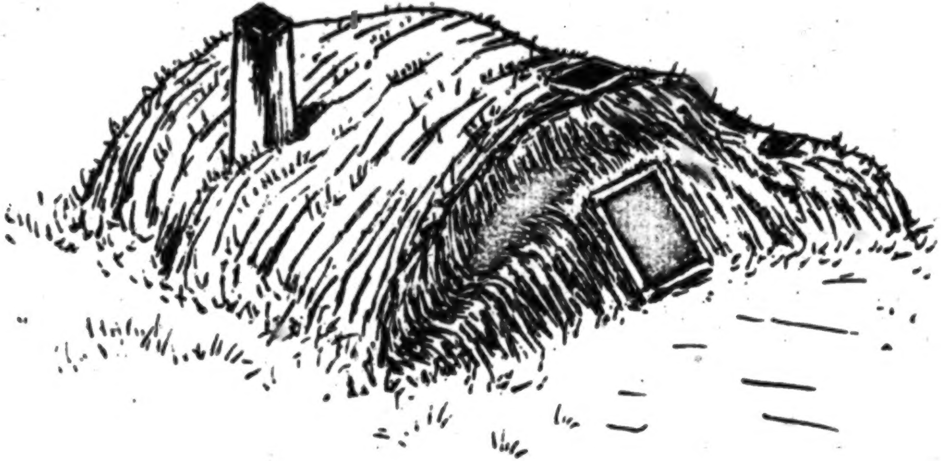
for a short time during the coldest part of the year. 172
There can be no doubt that these houses were very 342
unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves pit dwellings, not one is left. They, *i.e.* those of them who did not return to their old homes, died of consumption for the most part. Only the remains of their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called 115
them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name 824
had to do with it, he told me that it was because they were such little demons that this cognomen was given them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis, which is called *korokoni*. It is named *fuki* in Japanese, and is the *petasitis japonicus, Miq*. This plant grows to a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest I ever remember having measured was four feet one inch across and the length of the stem was over five feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of the name was interesting, but it was not at all satisfactory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these 539
people. "In very ancient times a race of people who 773
dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo grass) together, and they always fished with hook and line. If a single herring was caught, it took the united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 30(A)]



NORTHERN AINU PIT-DWELLING

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"When it was dark, the Oroks came to the village of Shishka. The Ainu living here occupied earthen houses. As soon as they arrived, they entered the enclosure round the houses and threw much lighted grass down the smoke holes.*

"The inside of the dwellings burnt fiercely, as a very great deal of lighted stuff had been thrown into them through the smoke hole in the roof. They then tore off the chimney coverings so as to make the fire stronger, and they also pushed burning grass through the doors. The whole of the village, together with its people, was burnt up. Every single being was slain.

"After this the Oroks went off to the village of Taraika where the aforesaid six Ainu gentlemen dwelt. But upon arrival they found all six of them encased in armour and keeping careful watch night and day. Seeing them so prepared and keeping such strict watch, the enemy took fright and went off across the lake. They came to the village of 'The Cape' (*Notoro*), where they gave battle. After that they passed along the shores of the 'Bay of Patience' (*Tan-atui*) and came to Karere. Here also they found the Ainu dwelling in earthen houses. They set fire to the dwellings by pushing lighted grass down the smoke holes and so burnt all completely down. They killed all the men as they crept out of the houses but carried away the

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[342]
*Although I have stated again and again that the Ainu formerly used pit-dwellings, especially during the winter months, there are still many Japanese of the present day who contradict this. But, as has already been mentioned, who is here written is in strict accordance with ancient Japanese history. Moreover, the old legend now cited actually tells us that they really did so. Of course, the smoke caused by the lighted grass would very soon drive the household out into the open and make all an easy prey to their enemies.

The pit-dwellings all had small holes left in the roof for the escape of steam and smoke, but besides these there were chimneys so constructed that they could be tightly closed when the weather called for it. They covered these from the outside. These coverings the Oroks tore off to make a greater draught. It was a cruel war and they were in deadly earnest.

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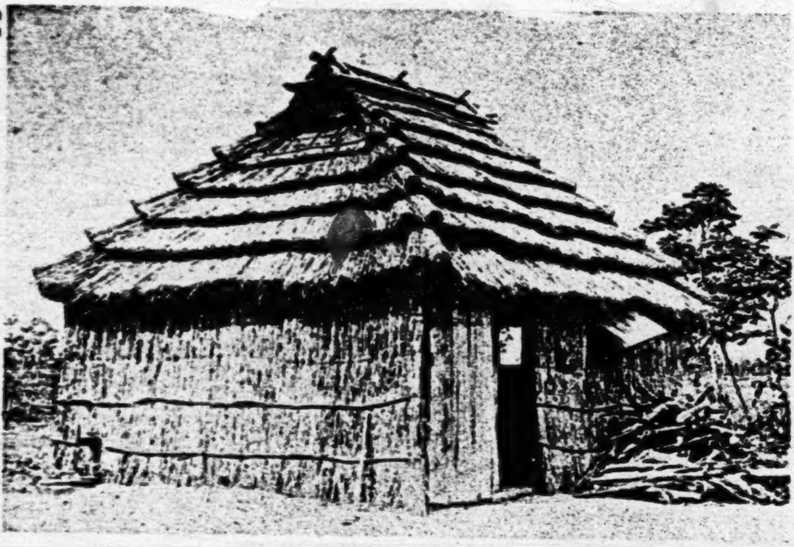

A SMALL HUT

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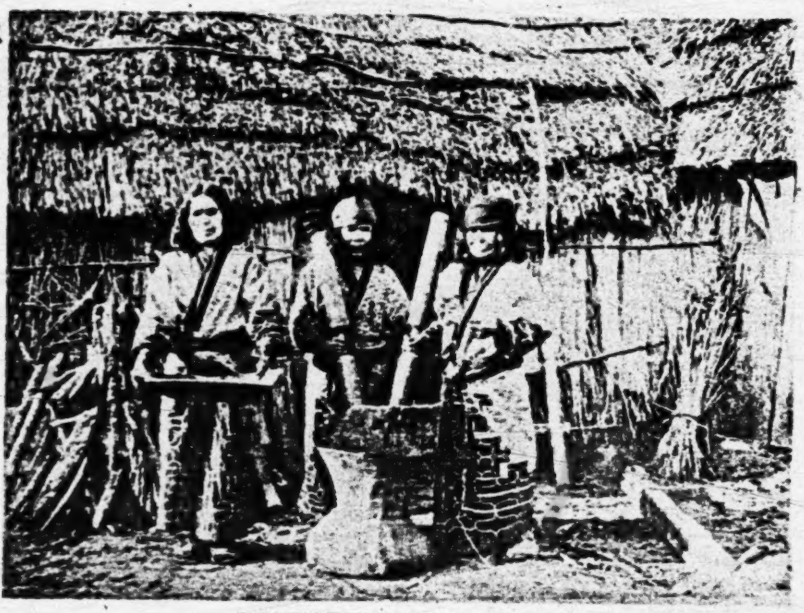

WOMEN POUNDING MILLET

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
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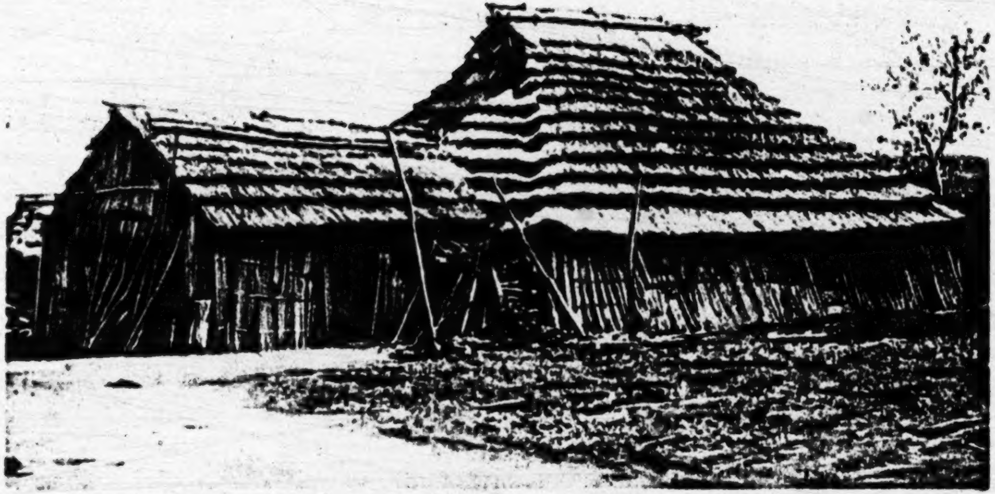
[P. 60(A)]



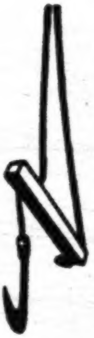
CHIEF PENRI'S HOUSE AT PIRATORI

117 given his hair a mighty strong tug. I immediately arose from my bed and we proceeded to build a good fire. Here we sat for half an hour or so, arguing with one another. He swore I had pulled his wig and I swore I had not. In the end we decided that Mrs. Rat had come and tried to get a little of his hair to make her nest with. This may have been so, but very likely some of it, for it was very thick and matted, had slipped down between the boards of his bed, where it stuck and held fast when he turned over. I hardly think it was nightmare, though it may have been.

825 The next morning I recurred to the hair-pulling incident and said some hard things about rats, as I had already done about those heavenly creatures, fleas. But here again I was told that it was not right to abuse any of God's creation, and the following story was told me in explanation.

539 "After the Creator had finished making the world, He came down to see how it looked. As He was viewing His work, Satan appeared and derided Him, saying, 'Doubtless You think you have done a very good thing, but look at these brambles and thistles. What can be the use of these?' God was very angry at these remarks and in an instant made a rat. This suddenly rushed into Satan's mouth and bit his tongue out. The devil was so angry at this that he caused the rats to increase so mightily that they soon became a great scourge and plague to men. The Ainu therefore one day met together and called upon God to remedy this. He did so by making cats to keep the rats down." This was the story, and the old man added, "Let us bear with the rats, for one of them did a good thing when he bit out the tongue of Satan. Moreover, do not speak against anything God has created, for see how He punished the evil one for doing so."

342 That year I stayed a little too long at Piratori. It became so cold by December that I asked the chief's



A POTHOOK

son to sleep with me so as get a little heat. 342 The lad came for the night and then ran [417] away. It was not until the year 1922, more than forty years after, that I could get him to tell me why he left me to suffer alone in the cold. He said, "Your back was so hot that I was unable to stand it. I could hardly breathe. I therefore ran away and slept in another house. There seemed to be a hot glow coming out of your person!" That is all I could get out of him. As soon as I found he would not return, I asked Mrs. Penri to fill me two big bottles with hot water, and let me have them to keep one on each side of my body. This was done and I went to bed John Gilpin-like. But the necks of the bottles were smooth and all there was to stop them up with were wisps of straw. Alas, I woke up very early in the morning to find that the water had run out and I was frozen down to the boards! That was on December 8. The next day saw me on my way to Hakodate, where I got a foreign room and bed and good European food. In this way, then, did my early life among the Ainu begin.

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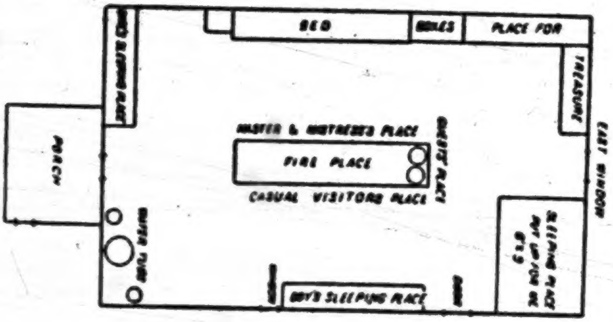
BED
BOXES
PLACE FOR
TREASURE
GIRLS' SLEEPING PLACE
PORCH
MASTER & MISTRESS'S PLACE
FIRE PLACE
GUESTS' PLACE
CASUAL VISITORS PLACE
EAST WINDOW
WATER TUBS
BOY'S SLEEPING PLACE
SLEEPING PLACE
PUT UP FOR ME
6×9

PLAN OF CHIEF PENRI'S HOUSE

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

found that even there a somewhat similar custom was 576
kept up by the Maoris. They, men and women too, 171
cry outright and hug and kiss friends who are about to depart on a journey or have just returned from one, and this proceeding lasts for quite a long time on occasion. In India, also, among the Chauhans of the Central Provinces, the women weep on one anothers' necks when they meet after a long separation. And when they thus weep it is a point of etiquette that the elder should stop first and then beg her companion to do so. But if it is doubtful which is the elder, they sometimes go on for a very long time. exciting the young spectators to mirth, until at length some elder steps forward and tells them to stop.

Continuing his instruction, my chief said, "Never enter a house with your shoes on; be sure to take your hat off; never rush in or out of a house, but go quietly and gravely; never look into a house through a window; treat the east-end window as very sacred; [778
never throw anything out of any window; never throw 342]
anything into the fire; do not touch another person's fire; do not go eavesdropping; never address a stranger unless he first speaks to you; if it is necessary to address a stranger, first say, 'Your Honour'; when you meet another person step off the path and let him have the right of way; let a woman always, when she meets a man, take off her head-dress, cover her mouth with her hand, step to one side and look upon the ground; let her even turn sidewise; never strike a burning log upon the hearth; never turn the point of any edged tool toward the fire; never by any means allow human hair or nail parings to fall upon the hearth," and so forth. Such were old Penri's rules of etiquette and I think I never lost anything by being careful to conform to them as much as possible.

One day an interesting thing happened while I was 117
in Penri's house. A Japanese traveller came in to have an argument with me on Christianity, for he did

CHAPTER XXII

HUT BUILDING AND DEDICATION

"When the first hut came down from Heaven," so 342 runs the tradition, "it descended with the Goddess of 778 Fire and was called 'The room in which the Divine Nourisher is placed,' 'The room sent down,' and 'The room God made.'" And I will here add that the word I have translated by "room" also means "womb," and to the folk-lorest this will perhaps be significant. The foregoing is not a long tradition, indeed, but is very much to the point, and is quite unexpected.

The native hut is certainly not much to look at from the outside, built as it is simply with a few posts, beams, poles and reeds, nor could I ever discover anything very heavenly about it from the inside. Regarded from an Ainu point of view, however, it is a very sacred thing indeed, for it is looked upon by them as an actual living creature having a conscious, personal identity. While being set up, every part of it has the sacred [777] willow fetish shavings placed upon it or suspended from it. They are put in every joint, about the beams, on the top of the uprights, along the rafters and by the windows and doors. No part is forgotten. These things are called the "heart" or "pulse" of the house. It is believed that when the building ceases to exist in this world, it goes back to Heaven for the use of the former inhabitants, ready for them when they arrive there. Thus the material itself is looked upon as the shadow only, while the living spirit is the real substance.

[p. 167]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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342 In building their dwellings, the people begin not "with the top brick of the chimney," but with the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck in the earth. Both men and women work at house-
[462 building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the
221] fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the proper times for this occupation.

342 When the framework of the house has been set up and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet beer or Japanese *saké* partaken of. The first prayer is as follows:—

342 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we
788 worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from
782 Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also was there. Now, when God sent the building down, He said, 'This house will, together with the Goddess of Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

another should be made in its place and children born 342
and brought up in it.' So now, O God, this room is 788
finished and the heart has been given it. Do Thou and 782
the Goddess of Fire keep the people in good health. We offer Thee fetishes. Pray see that those who shall dwell in this house do not become ill."

After the walls have been covered in and the roof 342
quite thatched, many fetishes are made, the furniture 778
brought in, and the chief household god set up in his corner in the sacred place which is his.

When building their homes in olden days the men 342
were very careful to drive in two good-sized stakes at the head of the hearth, one in the right-hand and the other in the left-hand corner. They were set there in a very reverential manner, with many prayers and much ceremony. Like almost everything else, they were called "gods" and treated with awe. They were even worshipped and had libations offered them on occasion. No house was considered safe to dwell in without these objects, and they were supposed to bring good or ill fortune as befitted the case.

I once quite unwittingly gave great offence to a 576
chief I was visiting on a very cold day, by resting my heels on one of his little posts and turning the soles of my feet towards the blazing fire, to warm them. Fortunately, my good friend chief Penri was sitting by my side and explained to me the heinous crime of impiety I was thereby committing. I took them off directly and apologized for the act. Clouds at once passed away and peace was restored so that we got along in perfect concord.

The proper full name of these two stakes is 342
Inumbe-sa-ushbe, which means, "Objects set at the head of the hearth." Those I saw in chief Penri's house were very good specimens. The old man told me that they were about three feet long and had been driven into the hearth corners with a wooden mallet. So deeply had they been driven in that only about six inches

342 were left standing up by the frame. They were about six inches in diameter and were very smoothly trimmed off level at the edges and tops. I have often seen them used for chopping small things. The chief sometimes used that in his corner of the hearth for cutting his tobacco leaves on, and for beating bits of dried fish on before toasting them at the fire. But they were most often used as rests when making and shaving fetishes, or when forming sticks into ceremonial moustache-lifters or arrows for baiting bear cubs with, at the famous bear festivals. At present, however, the custom of having them is dying out, as the houses are now [178 being built after the Japanese fashion. Today some 768] of the huts do not have them at all. These two small posts were regarded as the special personal fetishes of the male head of the family. Should the house not be burned down at the time of his death, they were pulled up and reverently burned upon the hearth and others substituted for himself by his successor.

342 339 [137] As for the wood used in making them, I was told that the very best is the sacred *pungau*, *i.e.* "lilac" (*Syringa japonica*). This is said to be hard and strong and is sometimes used for making fetishes for the best of the divine Spirits. The wood of this little tree well withstands the decomposing effects of damp earth, so the chief pillars of the huts were formed of it. So also were the shafts of arrows which were used with the spring-bows set out in the open by the tracks or runs of wild animals. Nails and pegs and skewers were made out of it by the old people.

342 There are no chimneys in Ainu huts, but a hole is purposely left in one or both angles of the roof for the escape of the smoke. They do not always work, and the smoke is often a great trouble to one's eyes and throat. To those sitting close upon the ground it is much better than for such as may be standing or sitting on anything two or three feet high. Still, it is fine for any fish or meat which may be hanging in the

roof to dry. But these holes are very useful in other 342 ways. When fights take place inside between demons [776] and men or between gods and demons, the spirits of the slain ascend alive through them to heaven. And when the deceased ancestors of the people come to their children to accompany them to battle, they enter here and then all go off together to wage the war, and many fights take place in the air. There are many allusions to this in Ainu folklore.

The western part of any place is always regarded as [823] the lowest in esteem. This region, being the place 342 where the sun sets, is looked upon as the abode of dark- 778 ness and evil. Many fetishes are set up to the demons of evil and sickness at this end of the huts, both inside and out. The door leading from this quarter goes into an ante-chamber. In the south wall of this there is another door which leads into the open air. In the ante-chamber are stored fire-wood, garden tools and so forth. The dogs also, and these are the only native [231] domestic animals the Yezo Ainu kept, are allowed to occupy this place. That part of the house extending from the top of the east-end window is held in special honour. The right-hand corner is the place where all the treasures are kept, also a great number of family charms and fetishes. Upon the beams over these, heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and fishing implements, properly decorated with shavings from willow wood, are stowed away. In long boxes next to these are preserved the special ornaments and clothing. Many old sword scabbards and other things may be seen decorating the wall here.

Respecting the east-end window the following folklore was told me:

"The east-end window is a very blessed thing and of great importance always. When the highest gods are worshipped or when prayers are said to the ancestors, they should often be addressed through this window. Also, when fetishes are placed among the big

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cluster outside toward the sunrise, they should be made and consecrated by the fireside and then passed through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed or any precious gift brought to the house, it ought always to be taken in through the east-end window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by such names as "Window through which fetishes pass"; "Window through which sacred things pass." For these reasons the east-end window [576] is to be very highly esteemed and nothing should be heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any person look into a house through it."

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When the hut is finished, the warming festival takes place in good earnest, and there are beforehand many smiles of pleasurable anticipation. The men and women quickly become very busy indeed, the women outside pounding millet for the dumplings, and the men attending to the religious part. It is very interesting to see the men making their fetishes. Some are told off to make small ones to hang up inside and outside the hut; some make theirs for the fireside, others for the sleeping places, treasure corner, doorways, windows, gardens, springs, rivers and outhouses. And all of them are devoutly worshipped and libations offered and drunk to them. When worshipping them, [264] each man dips his moustache-lifter into the *saké* he holds in his hand ready, and takes out three drops, which he allows to fall before the object being prayed to. Even the pots, pans, kettles, water tubs and the other furniture and utensils are all treated in the same way. Nothing is left out. In the meantime the women and girls have pounded their dough for the dumplings, made it into cakes, and placed it in the pots hanging over the fires upon the hearth.

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Very soon the noise begins. All talk at once and drink deeply. Even the women take *saké* then, and sometimes give a little to their children. Some of the men are very fond of neat alcohol, and this is so

strong that it very soon makes them fall over drunk, 342
where they lie and sing or sleep. Over the fireplace 273
there hangs a frame upon which cereals and other things are put to dry. Unless one is careful, this is liable to catch fire and give trouble. I now quote part of a letter an Ainu wrote me a little while ago which bears on this point.

"On the evening of November 20 a house-warming 731
feast was held at Fu. The people drank a great deal 342
of *saké* and neat alcohol and many got intoxicated. 273
Some of the stuff caught fire and the newly-made house was completely burnt down." This was a terribly hot hut-warming festival!

Did the people stick to their old native millet beer, 117
no harm would be done, for there is very little alcohol 273
in it. It is the colour of milk and quite thick. The taste is a trifle sour, but it is very fattening. But as for the Japanese *shôchû*—neat alcohol—it is a real danger in every way. I knew of a man—and I am telling no mere fairy tale—who one day took home a big bottle of this *shôchû*. Arrived there, he sat down by his hearth and forthwith began to do what he would call a "great enjoyment." He soon toppled over near the fire and here his breath caught fire and there was spontaneous combustion. His whole house quickly went up in smoke!

776 eastern corner of such huts as he may be pleased to
778 enter, a big fetish made with clustered willow shavings depending from the top of a thick stem. This is called by several names, as, for example, "Ancestral Governor of the House," "Household Fetish," and "Divine Householder." Like all other fetishes, this instrument is invested with mighty magic powers.

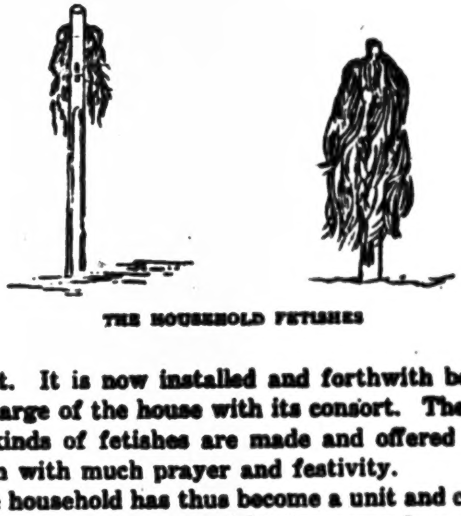
This fetish is of the male gender and is the most important one the men make. He is sometimes called the Divine Husband of the Fire upon the Hearth. On entering an Ainu hut, one hardly realizes that he is believed to be in the presence of two such mighty gods. But there is something very uncanny about this fetish
● [342] and the many skulls of animals one may sometimes see about it. I have often slept with my head in that sacred east corner, and the smell from the skulls kept there has sometimes been very strong and not at all fresh and nice. This fetish and his wife—the Fire—together are supposed to look after the welfare of the family and rule over them. These things are surely national totemistic signs, inasmuch as they connect the whole race in the bonds of one living clan or family.
776 The people are the children of one ancestral father and
769 mother. They are both—fire and the fetish—worshipped, which worship was no doubt in the beginning an *In Memoriam* service, and had, without doubt, for its moving principle reverence for their forefathers. It is pertinent to remark here that just as *Ekashi* means "old man," so *Hucki* or *Fuji* means "old woman," and in some things they remind one of the Lares and Penates of old Rome, for with them the lar was conceived of not only as the house spirit but as the spirit of a deceased ancestor, and so we probably have here ancestor-worship amalgamated with the worship of a tutelary or guardian spirit. And in the fetish itself we have in the willow shavings a reference to the Ainu racial "birth-tree," which is the willow itself.

When I questioned Chief Penri on this matter, he 776
informed me that the pattern of the original household [342]
fetish was sent down from heaven by the Creator Himself; not by Aeoina, but by the True God. The following is the story he gave me, as reported to him by his
father before him. It is short but to the point, and 778
runs thus: "The deity who rules the household was 776
first made by the True God, Who, after He had made him, sent him down from heaven to be the husband of the Goddess of Fire and to help her to attend to the wants of the Ainu. He is therefore called The Ancestral Governor of the House." Other men besides Penri have told me the same thing. This fetish is sometimes brought out from his corner and set up by the hearth, where he is worshipped together with his wife—the Fire. It is interesting to note how this fetish is made.

One day when all the family were away from home, 778
the eldest son of a certain chief with whom I was well acquainted, took his father's household fetish out of the corner at my request, and brought it to me for examination. I asked him to explain how it was made. This is what he said: "A piece of wood about an inch thick is taken from a green lilac tree. This tree is chosen because it is a kind of wood which lasts a long time and does not easily rot when kept in the dry. This stick is to form the stem of the fetish and is called the *netoba*, i.e. body. It should be two feet or two feet and a half long. The lower end is sharpened so that it can be stuck in the ground. One part of it is shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom, and this represents the front. Near the top a gash is cut right across it in imitation of a mouth, and a little lower down the *sambe*, i.e. heart, is carefully tied in. This heart consists of a red hot coal freshly taken from the hearth. It is firmly fixed to the "body" with a wisp of twisted willow shavings. After it has been well bound in, a number of long shavings taken from a fine willow tree are tied all round it so as to completely

778 hide the "body," notches having been cut in the stick so as to keep them from slipping down. After this has been respectfully done, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside and the following dedicatory prayer is said to it:—

[788] "O Divine Fetish, you are henceforth to live in this house with the Goddess of Fire. You are to be her husband and your abiding place will be in the sacred treasure corner. Help Thou her to watch over us, we beseech Thee, and do Thou bless us.' After this prayer has been said, some saké drunk and some libations offered, this fetish is named 'Divine Ancestral House Governor." Such were the words of my informant. It is now installed and forthwith begins to take charge of the house with its consort. Then many other kinds of fetishes are made and offered to both of them with much prayer and festivity.



THE HOUSEHOLD FETISHES

342
778 The household has thus become a unit and complete in itself. In so far as social intercourse is concerned, the family is independent and works for itself, but still within the community. The household has, as it were, reached its adult age. The Goddess of Fire has her seat right in the middle of the hottest part of the hearth and from here she performs her appointed service. It

is she who does the cooking and warming, besides 342
which she has numerous other duties to perform. She 776
is there unseen by any, and one should never forget this. Not only is she a very useful but a very awful being as well. Seeing and hearing all that goes on, she is the great witness who has noted well the words and actions of every one in the family, and will appear before God on the day of judgment for or against each individual, and her account will be infallible, and from it there can be no appeal. No wonder, therefore, that Penri was so punctilious in saluting the fire when he got up in the morning, and before and after his meals.

But it should be remarked that the Fire Goddess has a daughter whose name is *Sku-koyan-mat*, which means "Presider over the cooking pot," and she is supposed to assist her mother in the nice cooking of food.

Purification by fire, by passing children through it 783
or by making them jump over it, as was the custom 776
among some races in olden times, does not seem to have been known among the Ainu. Nevertheless, the Goddess of Fire is still supposed to be a great purifier of the body from disease. And so it happens that she is not only much worshipped at the time of birth, but also when one is ill, and at the time of death and burial. And after death the judgment.

The judgment day is not, according to the Ainu, 775
supposed to be at some fixed and great public assembly of the peoples of the earth, but they think it will be an individual and private hearing of one's case directly after the death of the person. Penri said to me one day, "When a person dies, he goes at once to stand before God to be judged, to receive his sentence, and to be told his future sphere and work. Upon arrival, the usual salutations will be gone through and God will ask about the affairs of his village and people. Presently God will say to him or her, "You told such and such a lie about so and so, and you did such and such evil deeds in such and such a place and at such a time. You

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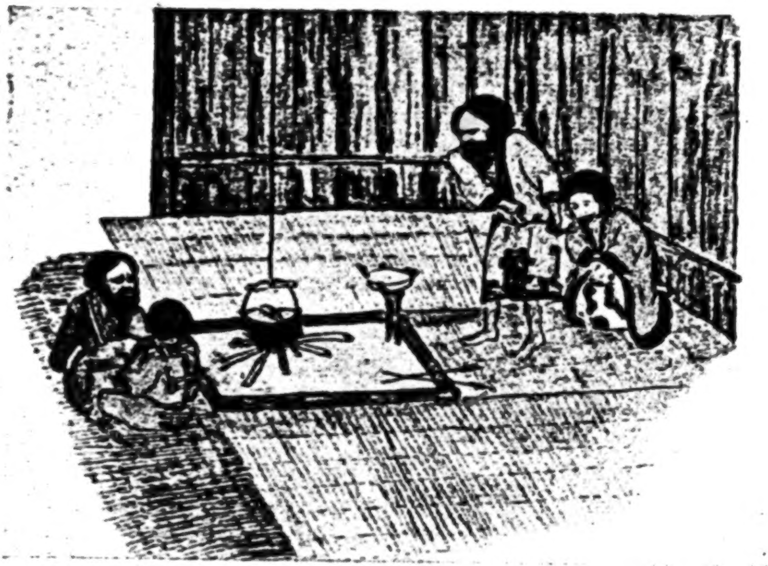

A DAUGHTER BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE (Old Japanese Drawing)

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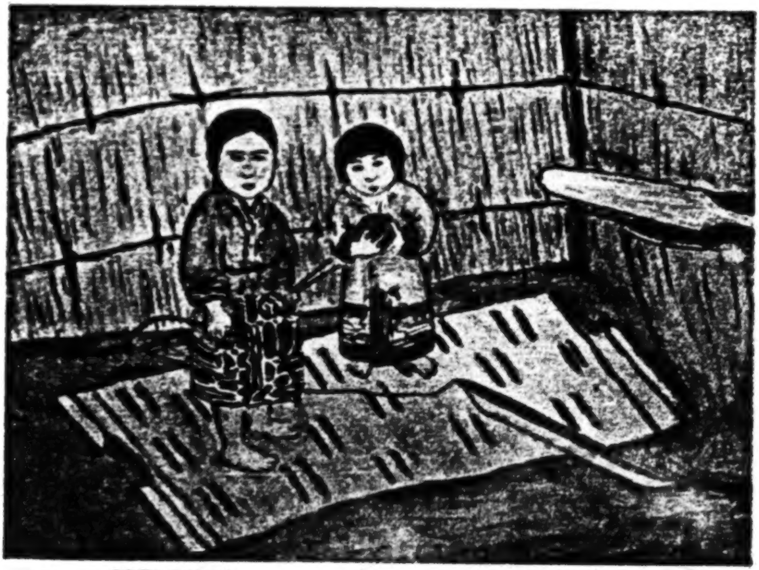

BETROTHED Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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A FISHERMAN'S CLUSTER OF FETISHES

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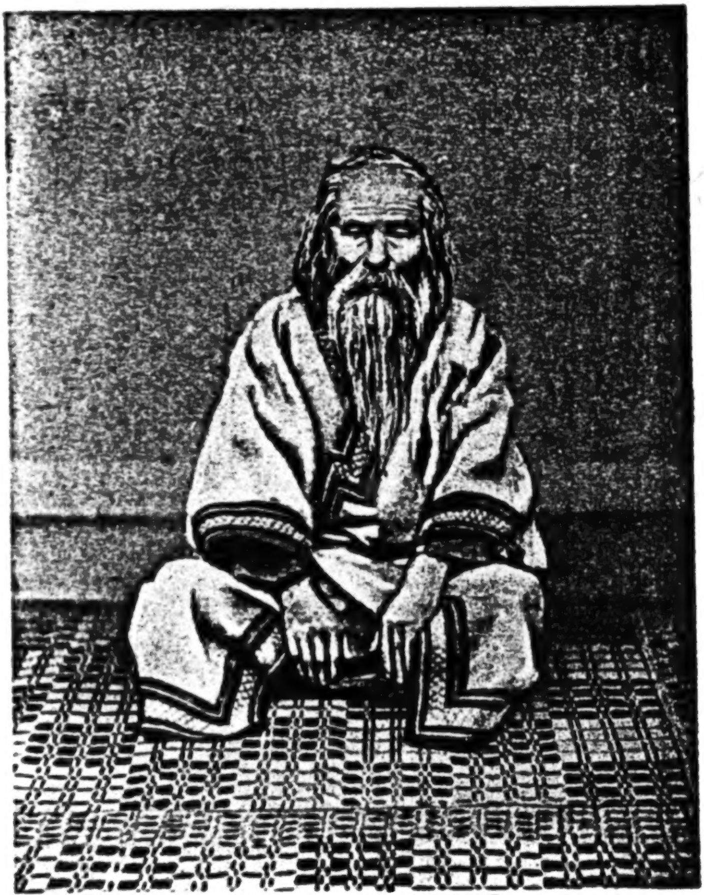
● 342



AN OLD SAGHALIEN FRIEND

[P. 356]

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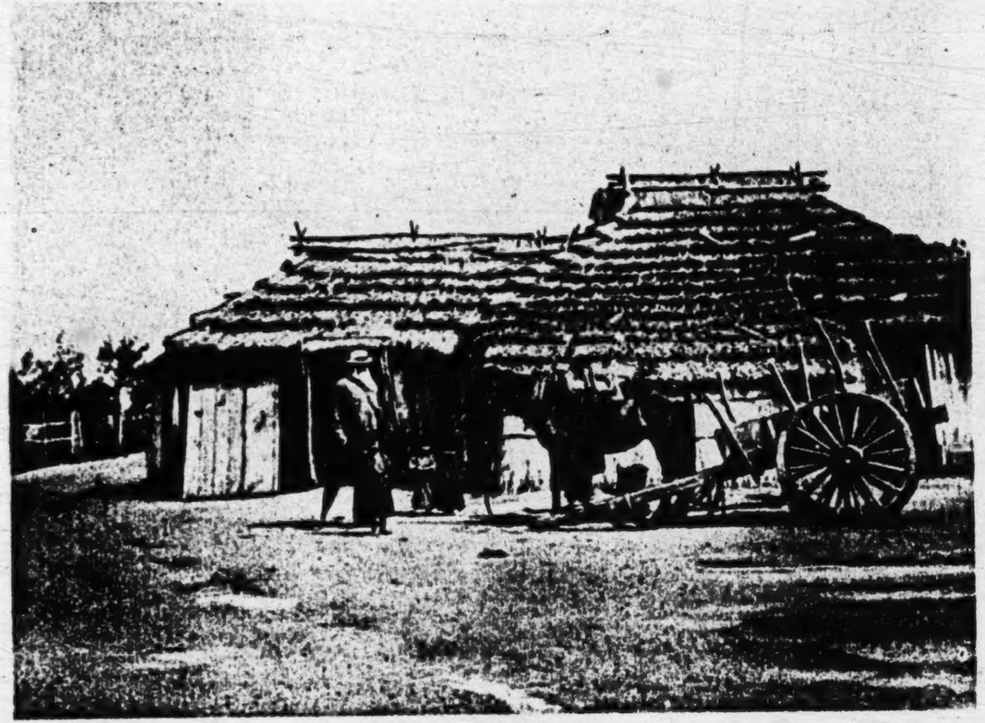
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6



ONE OF MY STOPPING-PLACES

[P. 408(A)]

[P.44]A

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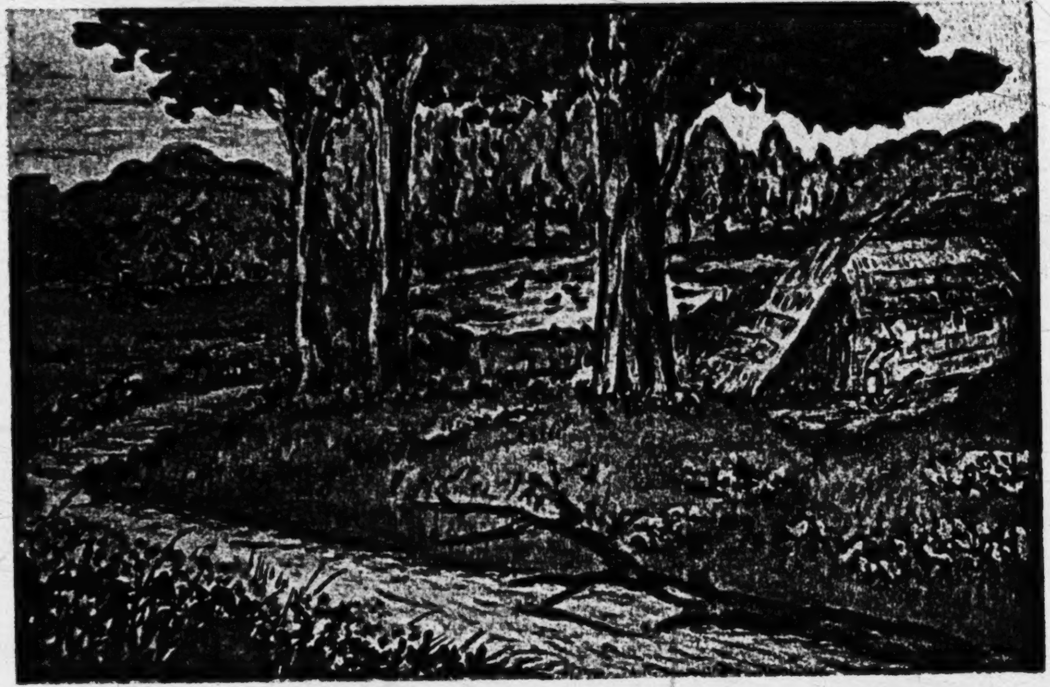
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6



THE HOME OF KUTRI AND YAI-MAH
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

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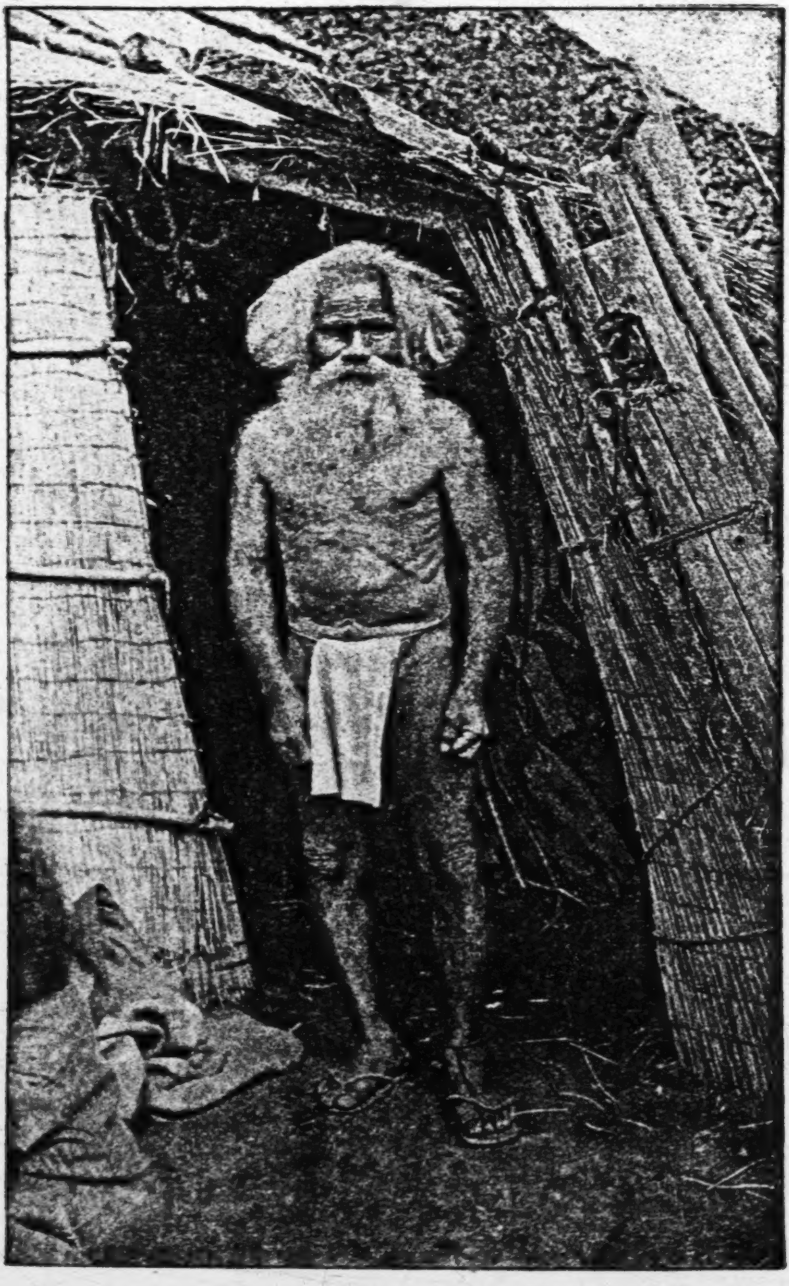

OLD AINO, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 442 (E)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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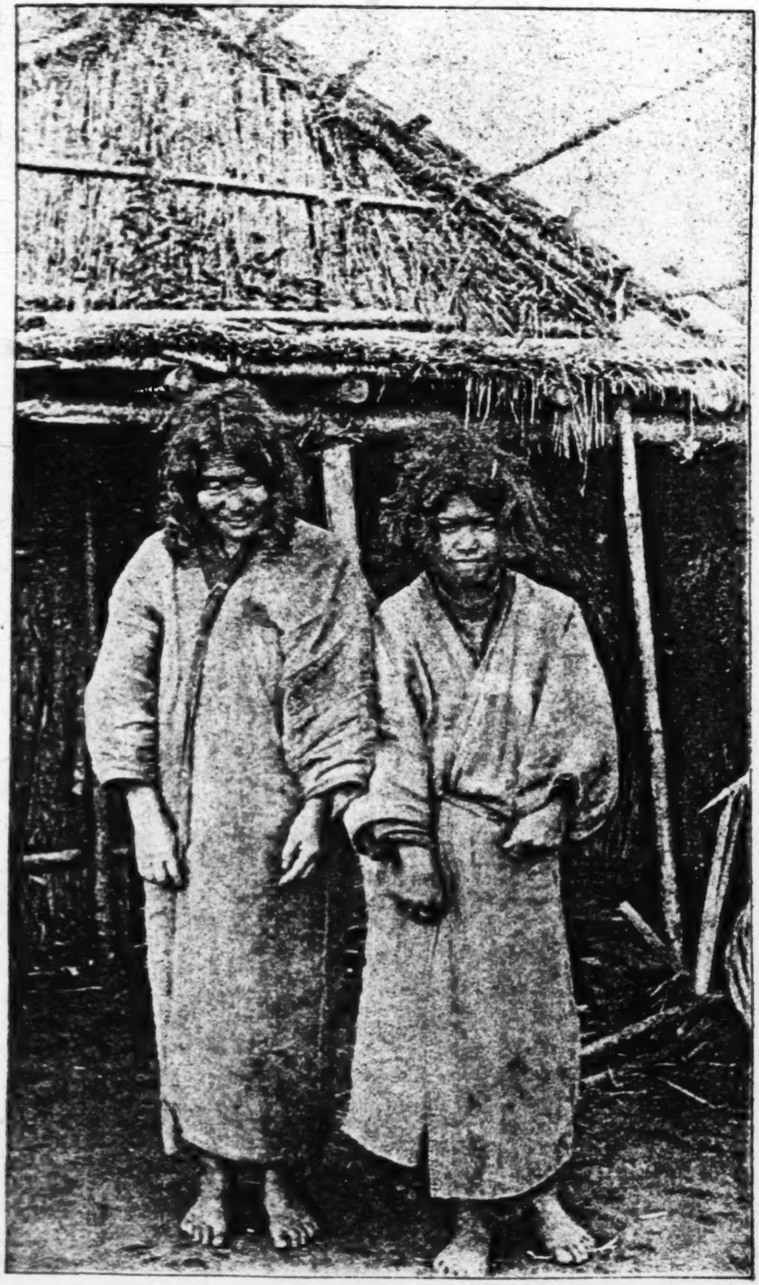

AINO WOMEN, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (G)]

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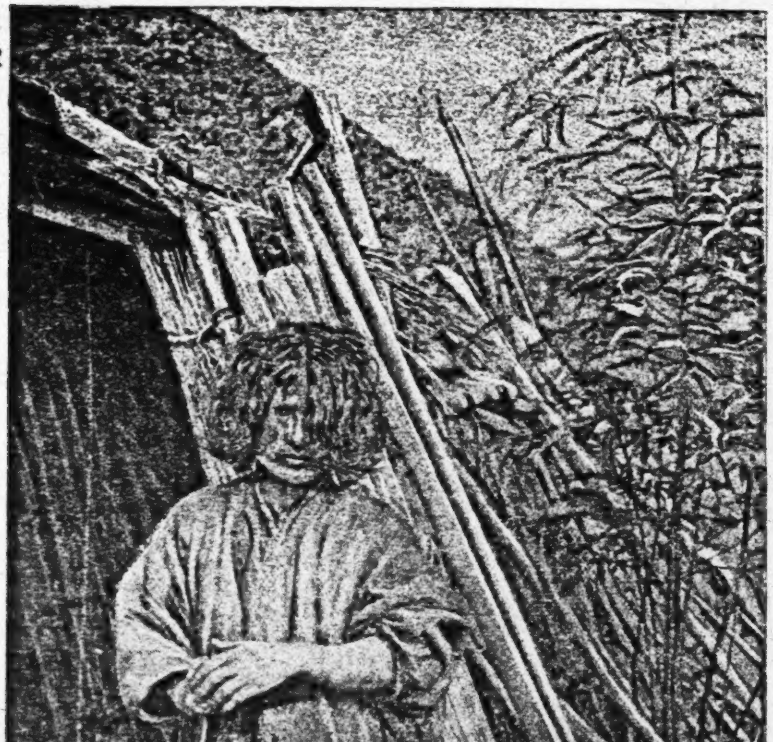

OLD WOMAN, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 450 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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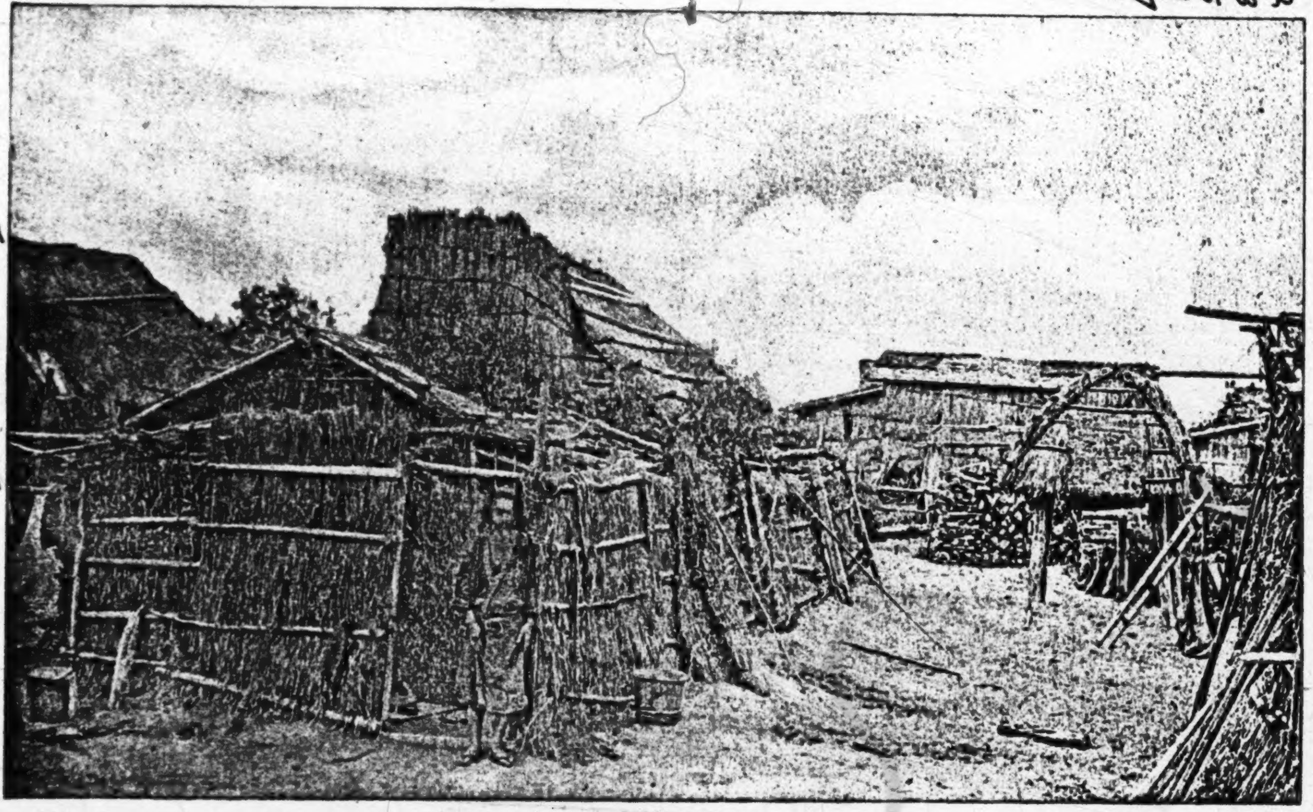
PLATE XCVIII.

[Facing p. 450 (D)]



AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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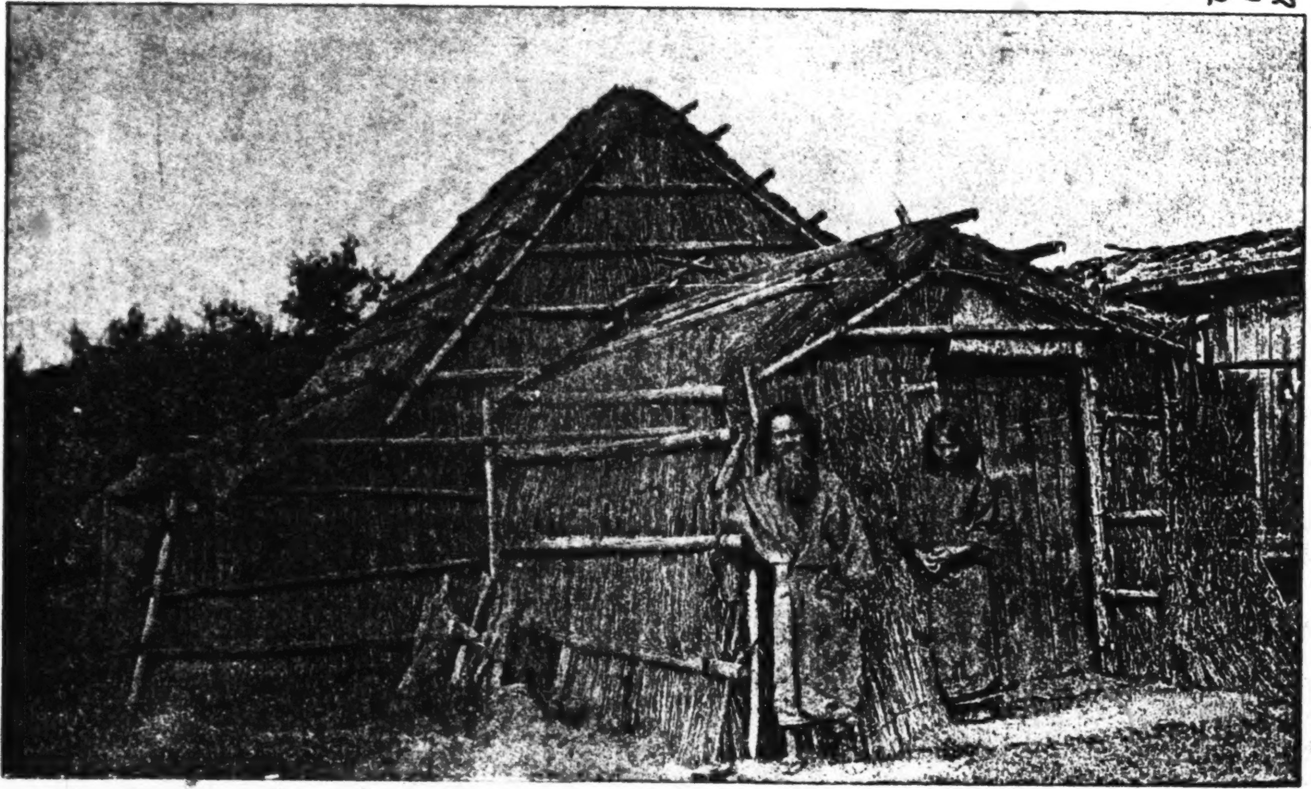
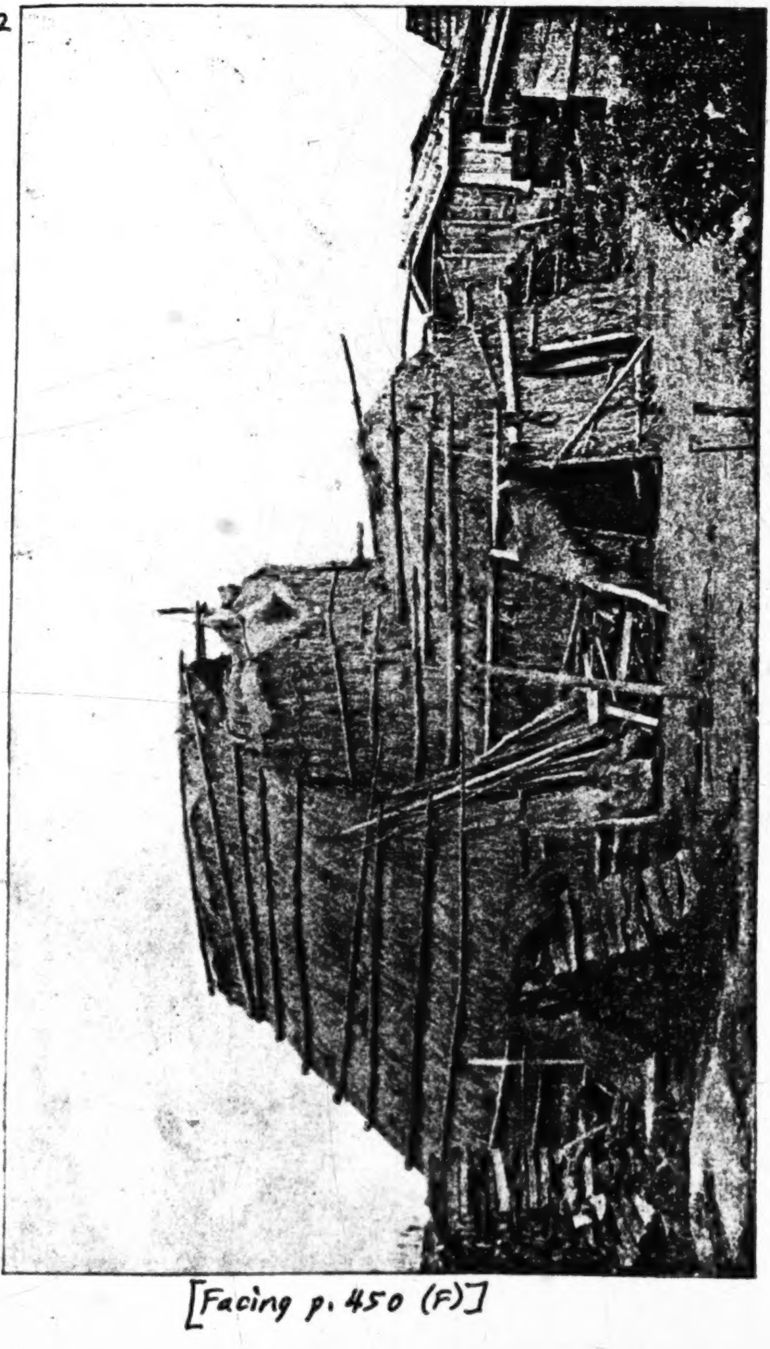
PLATE XCIX.



AINO HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (E)]

PLATE C.



AINO HOUSE AND SIDE TENT, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 450 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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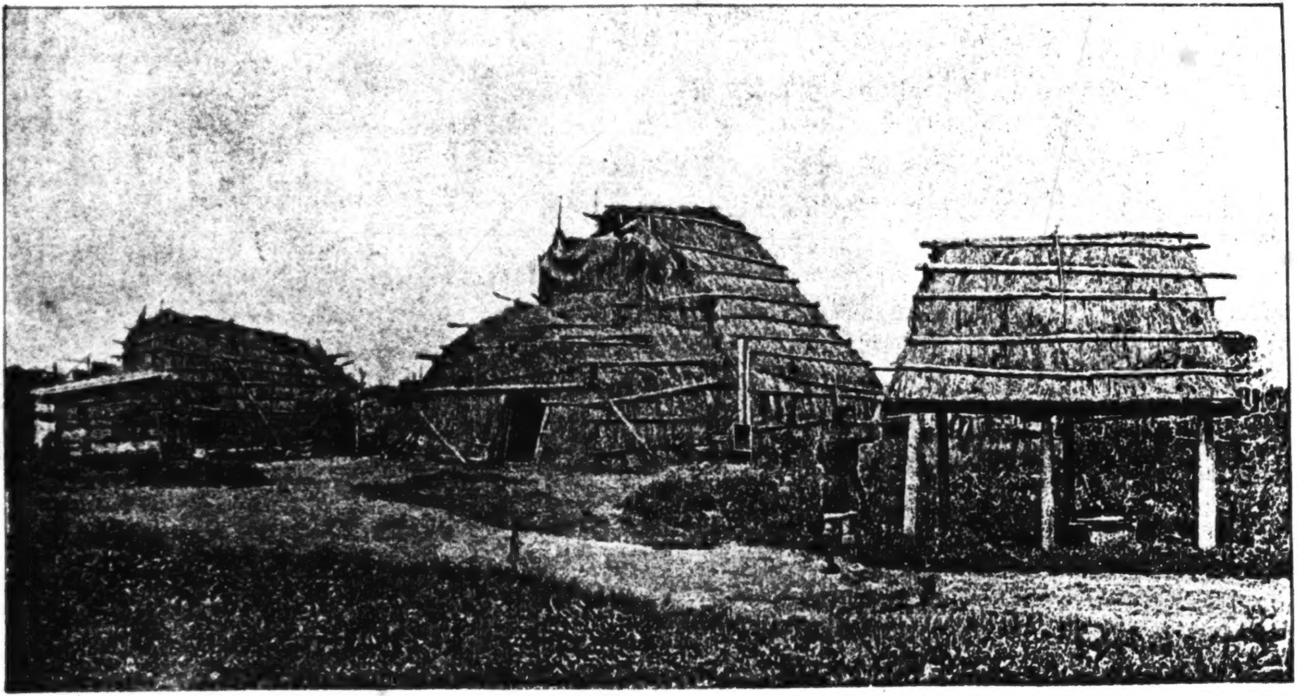
PLATE CI.

[Facing p. 450 (G)]



AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, BITSKAI.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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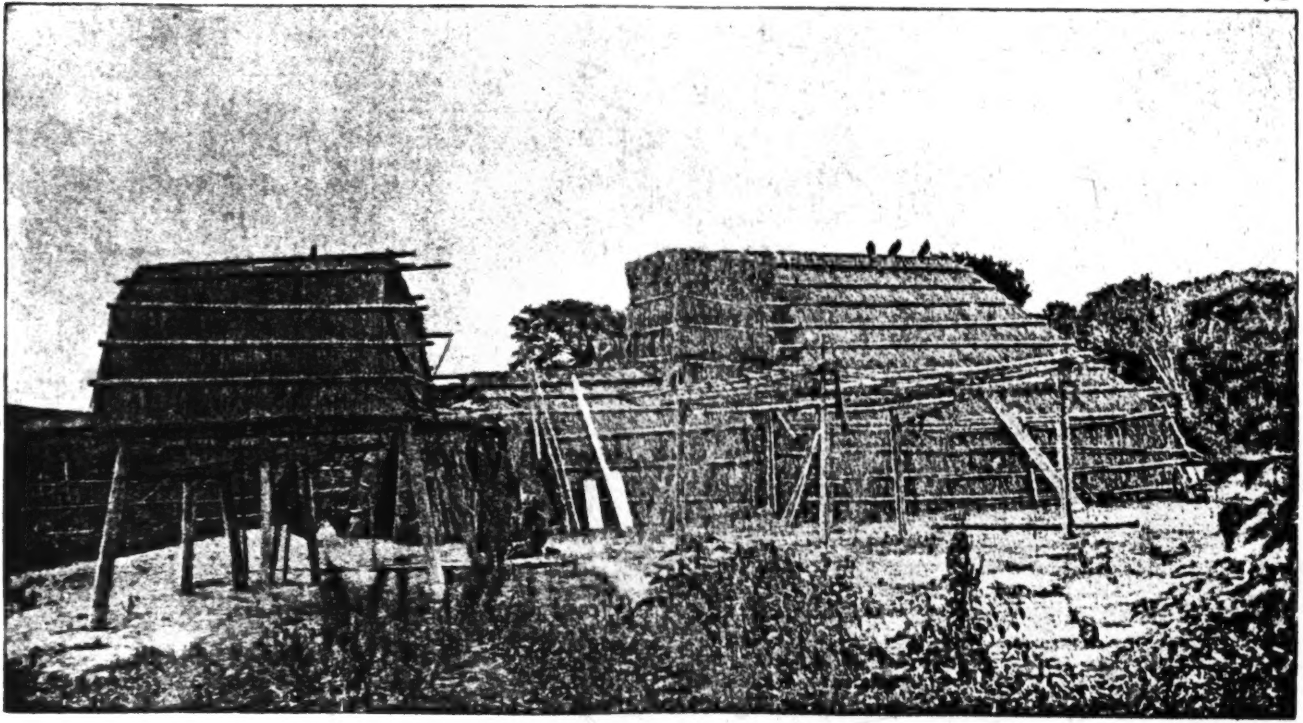
PLATE CII.



AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (H)]

CLOTHING.

The Aïnos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous 286
bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr.
Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese
akadamo) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned 291
after one form of the Japanese coat. The shapè is well shown in Plate [177]
XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the
ohiyo, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a running [531]
design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already [439]
the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made
of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with [237
thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 481]

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, 342
usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, a[illegible] in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

342 the wood pile, there is a small, tent-like structure made of poles covered with Japanese straw mats. There are several such tents in the village, and on venturing to peep into them, much to the evident distaste of the natives, I found them to be inhabited. They are scarcely large enough [888] for a human being to crawl into, but it would appear that the aged women of the village sleep in them and have dogs for companions. They crawl in somehow, curl up among filthy rags and tattered coverings, and smother themselves to keep warm.

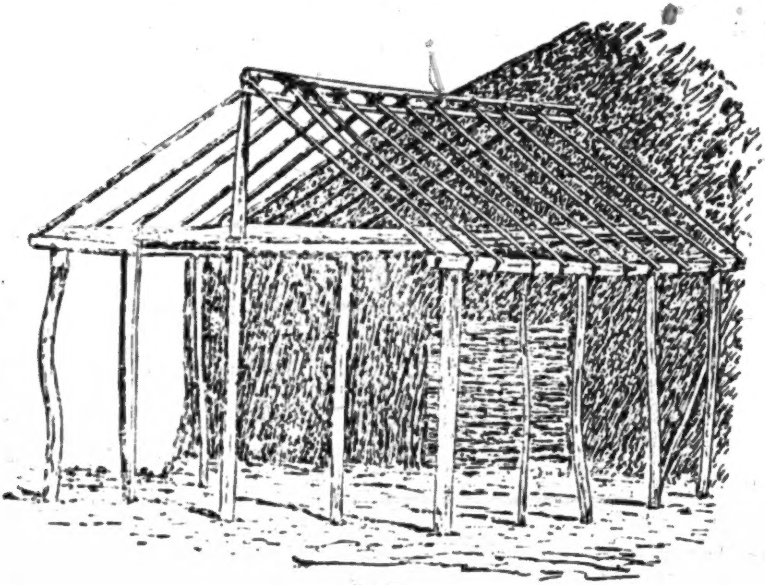


Fig. 71.

FRAME-WORK OF FRONT PART OF AN AINU HOUSE.

(From a photograph.)

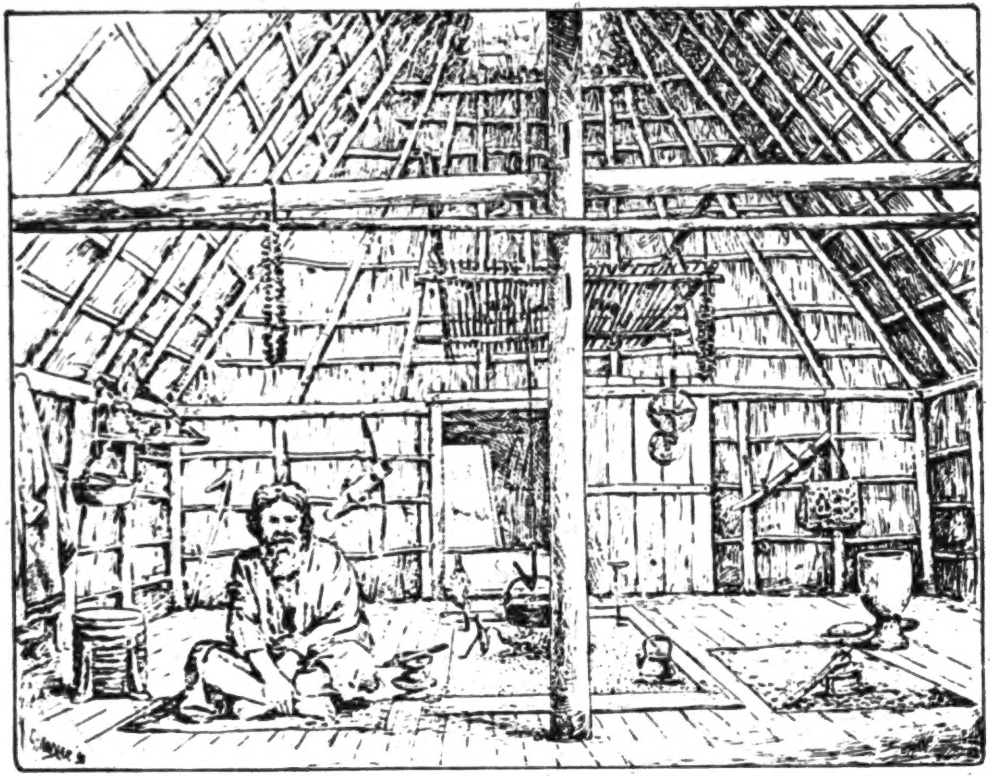
The interior of a house at Bekkai, taken from a photograph made with magnesium light, is shown in Plate CIII. The camera was set up in the back window of the house. The main room is well shown, and the outside scenery is glimpsed through the long entrance passage-way.

Entering this house from the front, one must stoop to pass through the doorway which will perhaps have only a mat of straw or reeds to close it. The rectangular passage is used as a storeroom. It is high enough for one to stand in erect. The floor is the damp earth. At the back is a sliding door made of boards, inclining outward toward the bottom, through which, by stooping low, the main room about 18 by 20 feet square is entered. The door is 3 feet in width by 3½ in height. Just inside the door is a space, 3½ feet by 9 feet, where the sandals are left on the bare ground. The floor of this house is made of boards [609] raised about 9 inches above the ground, but they are covered with dirt. A visitor receives a clean mat, which is immediately spread on the floor for his accommodation.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PLATE CIII.

[Facing p. 452]



INTERIOR OF HOUSE, BITSKAI.

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3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the 000
middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled 354
with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the
gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended [415]
above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or
more *inao*, or god-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is 352
usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, [778
on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable 251]
products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular
window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such
as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore 342
always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating
of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the
fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so
full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell,
Pecten Japonicus, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright [237
in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is 354]
a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped
around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, 342
about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. 361
The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, [161]
but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of
a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there
can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have
Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families
there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back 342
window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainos consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us
[114] concerning the dwellings of the Ainos in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

The houses represented in Plates XCVIII to CIII are typical Aino houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Aino studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainos, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainos have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

STOREHOUSES.

343 The Aino storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XCVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

415 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainos ate
[264] with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown
[177] in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they deco-
000 rate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

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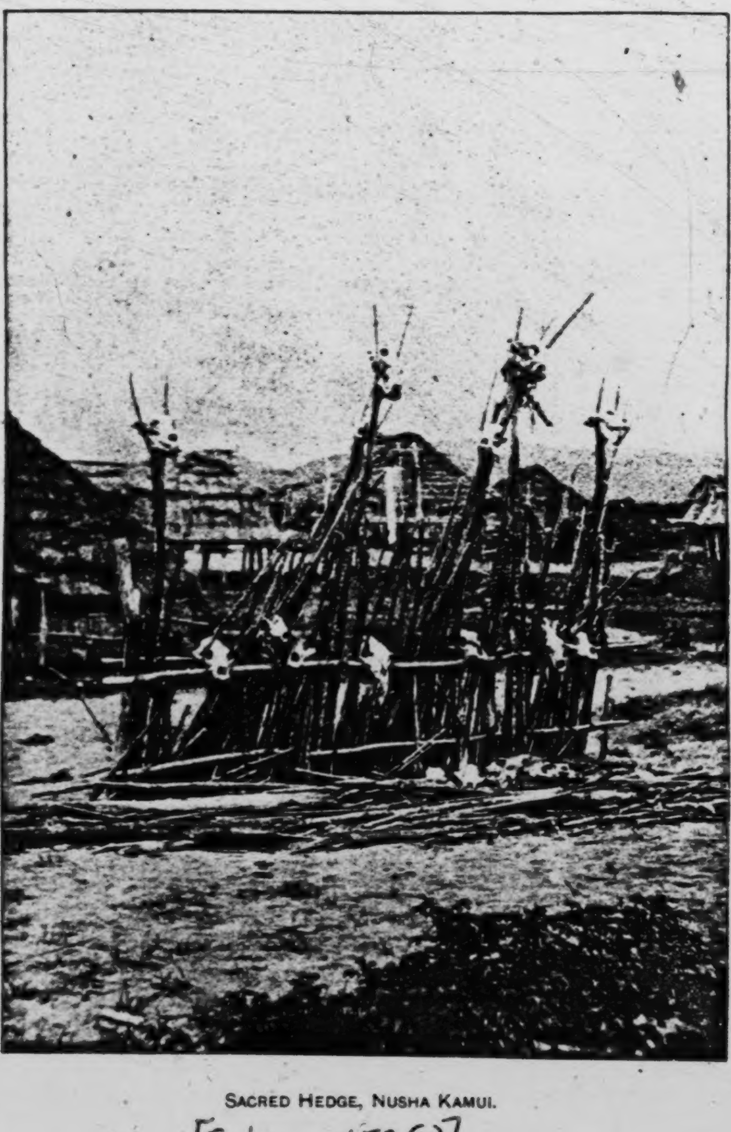

SACRED HEDGE, NUSHA KAMUI.

[Facing p. 472 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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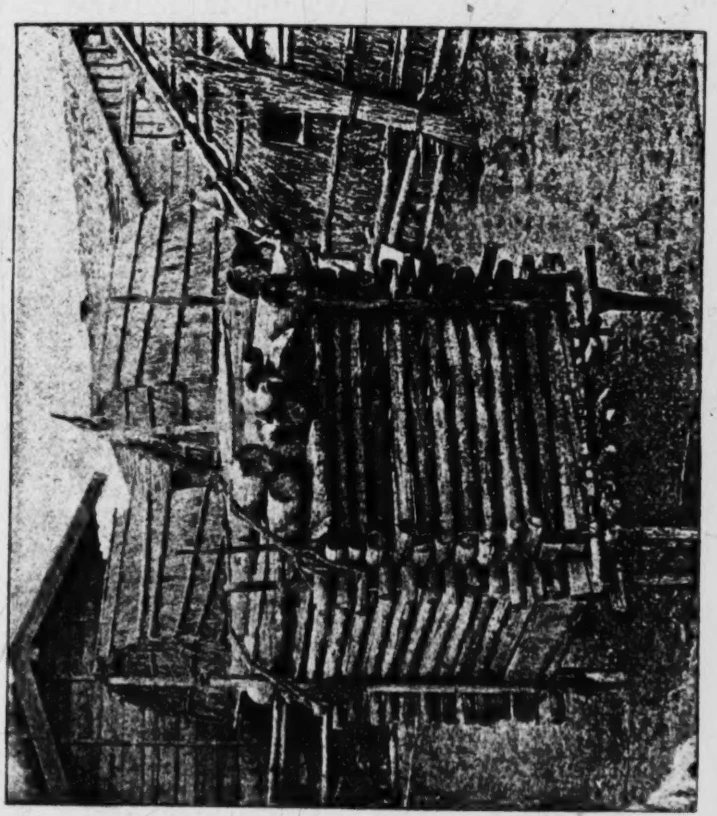

AINO BEAR CAGE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 474]

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Quiver and arrows.—Quiver made of wood bound with bark, having carved projected pieces along the sides. The form is common to all the Ainos. Arrows with bone or bamboo heads (see Fig. 84). Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150785, 150786 [441]

Loom.—Four pieces, constituting the essential parts of a nati[illegible] loom for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150787 [286]

Harpoon.—A barbed iron head, with lateral barbs on the shank, loosely fitted on the end of a wooden shaft and secured by thongs to a line. When a fish is struck the head leaves the shaft and the fish is pulled in with the line. Used for shallow-river fishing. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150788

Fish spear.—A spear identical with 150662, but smaller. Tsuishikari Ainos, 1888. 150788

Cake of dried lily root.—Similar to Nos. 150741, 150742, and 150744, but of slightly different form. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150789

Wooden plates.—Square and rectangular, carved on the inside. Ainos of Yezo, 1875 [445] Collected by Gen. H. Capron. 19416

Wooden plate.—Ainos of Yezo, 1876. Collected by Benj. Smith Lyman. 2256

LIST OF YEZO, AINO AND SHIKOTAN PHOTOGRAPHS OBTAINED BY ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

Backs of houses, Shikotan.—Showing the mounds of earth over the pits, connected with the main or thatched houses. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 56

Villagers, Shikotan.—The Kurile Islanders now occupying the dwellings on Shikotan. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 57

View of Nemuro, Yezo.—Looking over the the town toward the harbor, showing Bentenjima, on which are numerous pits and a shell-heap. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 58

Pottery.—Specimens of so-called "Aino" pottery, from the collection of M. l'Abbé Furet, Hakodate. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 59

View of Hakodate.—From back of the town, overlooking the harbor. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 61

House on Shikotan.—The front or thatched house and back passage of the Kurile Islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 65

Earth houses on Shikotan.—Two detached earth or pit dwellings. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 66

Aino house, Bekkai, Yezo.—From the southeast. Showing a small, conical tent covered with mats on the south side of the house, in which an aged woman and a dog were found sleeping. (See page 451.) Negative by R. Hitchcock. August, 1888. 740

Aino house and storehouse, Bekkai, Yezo.—Another view of the house shown in No. 740, from the northeast, showing a storehouse in the foreground and a second house on the left. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 741

Group of five Ainos, Shari, Yezo.—Four women and one man standing at the entrance to a house, a Japanese on the right. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 742

Aino man and woman, Shari, Yezo.—Standing before the side door of a house. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 743

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—A large and well-built dwelling thatched with reeds (arundinaria). Fish nets drying on a frame raised on poles. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 744

Aino house, Shari, Yezo.—The house has a small aperture just beneath the ridge for [342] the escape of smoke, and a hole in the roof, closed with a sliding shutter; also a lateral projection forming a side room for storage. There is a sliding front door, outside of which a mat may be dropped down in cold weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 745

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[342]

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—This house has a thatched chimney in front of the smoke-hole under the ridge, but no opening in the roof. The smoke-hole is larger in houses of this kind than in those like 745. The entrance is through a passage way in front of the door, which affords protection from cold winds. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 748

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—Showing the characteristic strong growth of hair on the legs. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 749

Aino house, Tokoro, Yezo.—Showing the method of construction. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 750

Two Aino girls, Tokoro, Yezo.—Showing the ordinary dress and the rough sandals. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 751

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Leaning on his staff at the door of his hut. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 752

Aged Aino woman, Tokoro, Yezo.—The wife of the man shown in 752. Showing the tattoo marks on lips and arm. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 753

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Nude figure, showing growth of hair on body and limbs. The hair about the breast and shoulders is very long, but the color is not dark enough to show distinctly in the photograph. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 754

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Back view of the man shown in 754. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 755

Aino canoes, Tokoro, Yezo.—Boats used in river fishing, rudely dug out of a single log. The form varies in different parts of the island. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 756

Two Aino women, Abashiri, Yezo.—One holding a child. Good faces, long unkempt hair. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 757

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—Good types of Yezo Ainos in ordinary dress. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 758

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—One an old, patriarchal Aino, such as may often be found in Yezo. Dressed in good clothes, he would appear a dignified and wise old gentleman. The hairiness of the lower limbs well shown. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 759

Two Aino women, Abashiri, Yezo.—Excellent types. They are both tattooed, but the blue marking does not show distinctly in photographs. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 760

Aino man, Abashiri, Yezo.—A large and powerful man, chief of the Aino village. A sleeping dog on the ground. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 761

Main street, Abashiri, Yezo.—A Japanese town on the northeast coast. The low houses, with roofs weighted down with stones, being characteristic of the whole island. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 763

Aino man carrying a water tub, Abashiri, Yezo.—The usual manner of carrying a load on the back. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 767

Aino Village, Yezo.—The village adjoining the Japanese town Abashiri. View along the beach, the houses all facing the sea, only far enough back to be beyond the reach of the waves in stormy weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 768

Beach, and fishing boats, Abashiri, Yezo.—View of the beach within the bar and boats, from behind the houses shown in No. 763. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 769

House on Shikotan.—Occupied by Kurile islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 770

Shikotan village.—General view of village from the hill-side on the west. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 771

Street scene, Shikotan.—General view of the street from the south. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 772

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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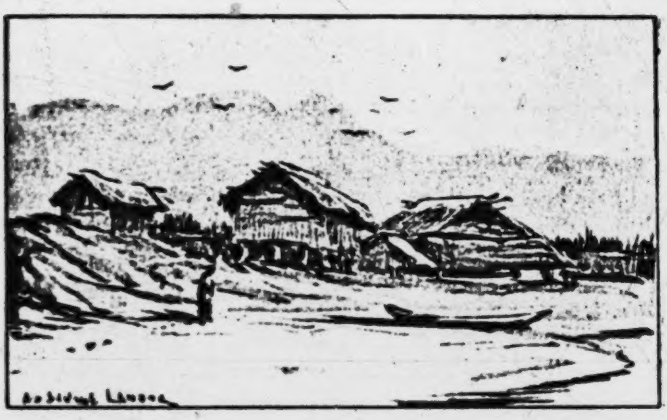

APUTA.

CHAPTER I.

From Hakodate to Mororran—Volcano Bay—The first Ainu—A strange Institution among them.

I HAVE often asked myself *why* I went to Yezo; and, when 114 there, what possessed me to undertake the laborious task of going round the island, up its largest rivers, travelling through jungles and round lakes, climbing its highest peaks, and then proceeding to the Kuriles. There are certain things in one's life that cannot be accounted for, and the journey which I am going to relate is one of them.

Pleasure and rest were the two principal objects which had primarily induced me to steer northwards; but it was my fate not to get either the one or the other.

I was on the Japanese ship the *Satsuma Maru*. Rapidly 000 nearing the Hakodate Head, which we soon passed, we entered the well-protected bay and the town of Hakodate at the foot of the Peak came into view. It looked extremely pretty, with its paper-walled houses and its tiled roofs, set against the background of brown rock with its fringe of green at the foot. As we cast anchor, hundreds of coolies, carrying on their backs loads of dried fish and seaweed, were running along the *bund* or wharf. A few *musemes* (girls), in their

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[p.1]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are 133 covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava.

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in 114 the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can [251] smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me 511 most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature.

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as 199 this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners.

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single 361 line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no 342 furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, [574] and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and [609] raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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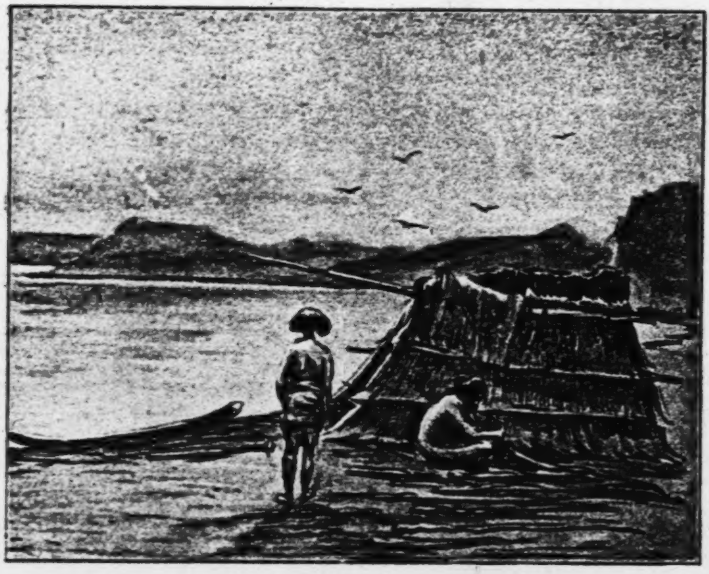

FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[552] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my [990] visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

123
609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

[p.12]

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the 361
huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each 133
has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles— [343]
generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the 574
Ottena (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and 123
salaamed me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to
mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that 273
sake (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid.
"*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and [413]
lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It 342 ●
is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden 622
floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

342 a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not
622 in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or
eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure
more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was
352 exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough
353 *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of
Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of
622 the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords,
411 knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a
wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were
of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in
their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and
arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened
to the roof.

648 These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the
439 Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange
199 for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes
are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of
Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the
civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to
see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of
Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano
Bay, most of whom are half-breeds ; but even they themselves
cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have
adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the
incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs.
199 For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of
262 fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of
certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and
eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured
from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of
civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen
[235] hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home.
These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his
"wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word
for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name
of "kikkiri."

123 After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided
to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

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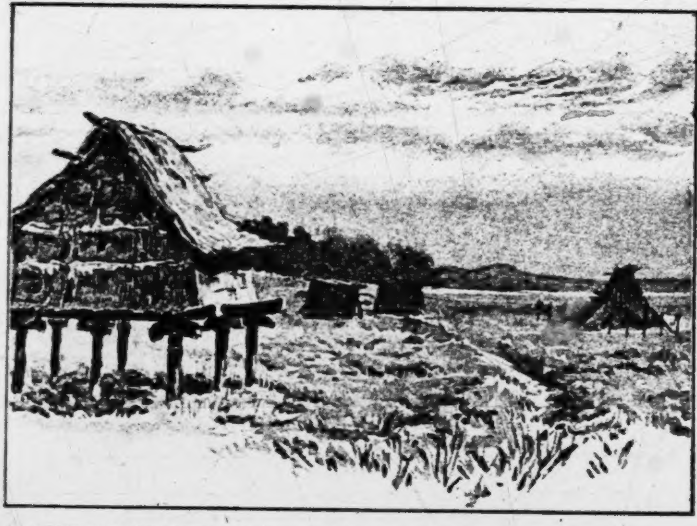
[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.



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AINU HOUSES AND STOREHOUSE, FRISHIKOBETS, TOKACHI RIVER.

CHAPTER VII.

The Tokachi Region—Pure Ainu Types—Curious Mode of River Fishing.

THE Tokachi River is one of the largest and most important 361
in Yezo. Knowing that the Ainu either settle on the sea- 133
shore or up river-courses, I formed an idea that some good types were to be found up this river. On reaching Otsu, a small settlement at the mouth of the Otsugawa—a branch of the large delta formed by the Tokachi—my idea was confirmed by the report that there were no Japanese villages in the
interior. The expedition up the Tokachi River was by no 000
means easy from the accounts I heard at Otsu. None of the Japanese ever dare to penetrate into the interior from Otsu, and, so far as foreigners are concerned, the Tokachi River was utterly unexplored. There is a certain charm in being the first man to do something, and I decided to attempt the experiment. The Japanese of Otsu dissuaded me strongly from carrying out my plan; for they said the grass and reeds were so high that I could not possibly get through.

a compass from a Japanese fisherman, and on this occasion it [122] was extremely useful to me.

By the soft, or rather shrill, music of a full orchestra of 000 mosquitoes I fell asleep. It was poetic, but not comfortable. Strange noises woke me several times during the night. My ponies also were very restless, and repeatedly tried to get loose while I was lying down on the two saddles to which they were fastened.

It was some time after sunrise when I woke up, and with stiff bones set off again. A heavy dew had fallen during the night, and had made my clothes very damp. The reeds and grass also were saturated with water, and riding through them caused a continuous shower to fall over me, giving me an uncomfortable and by no means efficient kind of shower bath.

I rode in a westerly direction till about two or three in the afternoon, when suddenly the jungle came to an end. Not only that, but a short distance away I saw some Ainu huts. I soon reached them, dismounted, and tied my ponies to a tree. I went to the first hut, and previous to going in I called out: 576 "Hem, hem, hem, hem!" which in the Ainu country is the polite preliminary when a stranger wishes to enter a hut. The usual practice of *knocking* at the door is dispensed with, for [342] Ainu doorways have no doors.

"Hem, hem, hem, hem, hem!" called I again much louder, 000 but I heard no answer; so I lifted the mat and entered the hut. It was empty. No one was there. I came out again, and went into the next hut, into another, and yet another; but nobody was to be found. I supposed that they were all out fishing. From the roof in each hut was hanging some dried and half-dried salmon. I could not resist the temptation after nearly thirty-four hours of involuntary fasting; and I stole—I mean "conveyed," or helped myself to the largest fish. I was greedily eating it—and how good it was!—when I thought I heard a groan inside the hut. I listened, and I distinctly heard some one sniffing in a corner of the dark dwelling. Had I been caught stealing? The crime I had committed would be called felony at home, but in the Ainu country it has not nearly so bad a name as that. However, felony or not, I dropped the fish, or rather what remained of it, and made for the corner whence the noise came. As I got closer I discerned

361 I came across several Ainu huts on my way, passed the village
511 of Pensatsunai—six Ainu huts—on the Satsunai river, an
609 affluent of the Tokachi, and then arrived at Obishiro in the
afternoon. There are seven houses at Obishiro. I entered one of them, and to my astonishment I found myself in front of an old man and a pretty woman, whose appearance and manners were as refined as those of the better classes in Japan. A younger man also came in. Their astonishment was as great as mine, as they had not seen any civilised beings since they had been there. Though the outside of their dwelling was not prepossessing, the inside was so clean that I felt as if I had dropped into heaven. After what I had gone through, this unexpected *rencontre* brought me back to life and a belief in the proprieties of a civilised existence, almost forgotten by now!

000 These people had a romantic history. Watanabe Masaru—the younger man—was a Japanese gentleman by birth and education, but he had no fortune. Of an adventurous disposition, clever, sensitive, and tired of the conventionalities of his fatherland, he decided eight or ten years ago to emigrate to Hokkaido, and there lead the life of a colonist. The woman he loved was as brave and constant as he. She sailed with him and her father from Japan, and after a long and perilous journey in a junk (sailing boat), they landed at the mouth of the Tokachi River. In Ainu canoes they went up the river, and established themselves at Obishiro, far from civilisation, nearly in the centre of Yezo. At first they had a
[609] great deal of trouble with the natives, but now they are loved by all. There, with two lovely children, they lead an ideal life, far from the madding crowd and noise of the world, and freed from the vulgarity of society.

361 I rode on to Frishikobets village, situated on the Frishiko, "old river," and in the midst of a beautiful plain. There are only twenty-eight houses, and they are scattered about in the plain at a distance of several hundred yards one from the other. Some of the huts were hidden in the forest. A peculiarity of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi River is, that they
342 frequently cover their dwellings and storehouses with the bark
184 of trees, instead of with reeds, as is the custom among the Ainu of the Saru River and Volcano Bay.

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. 283 297 The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were 123 immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the 888 one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, 732 her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy [164] is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on 361 the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than 342 those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, 184 in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives 93 told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the 136 neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises per- 133 pendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

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[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water. [192]

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river. [103]

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

172 the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small
[172] extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular, which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however,
[342] are not built on pits; and on my questioning the few inhabitants of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded them a great deal of amusement.

184 On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some
341 Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs; but even in
132 the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River; but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle of about 135 . In fact, these variations in the Ainu architecture have not yet been accounted for, and whether they copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay. I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford
342 an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi,
132 and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in
184 winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them in winter, while during the summer months the rain should fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

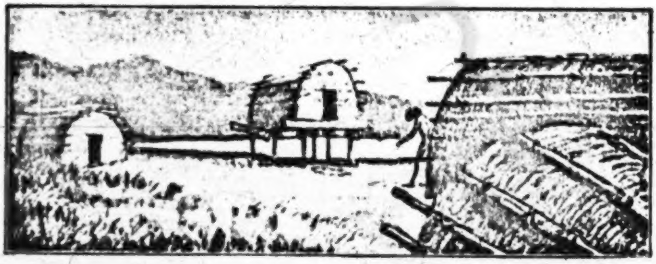
through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down. 342 132 184

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with [171] the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those [341] built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion.

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must 172 have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit.

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



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AINU HUTS AND STOREHOUSES ON KUTCHARO LAKE.

CHAPTER X.

The Kutcharo River and Lake—A Sulphur Mine—Akkeshi and its Bay. 133

THE Kutcharo River is of some importance, for though not of great length, it is navigable by small boats for nearly twenty miles from its mouth.

I left Kushiro one morning, and made my way up the river, not by boat but along its banks on horseback, so as to get a better idea of the surrounding country and its inhabitants. At Kushiro I left more than half my luggage, to be sent down to Hakodate by the first ship that happened to call, and this greatly changed my mode of travelling. Instead of two ponies, one pony would now be quite sufficient to carry my baggage and myself; and where ponies were not obtainable, I could carry all my paraphernalia on my own back with no very great difficulty, and in this way I should not be hindered on my journey. 122

I daresay the baggage I was carrying now weighed about forty-five pounds. It mostly consisted of painting materials, and wooden panels, on which I usually paint my sketches when travelling.

As to clothes and boots, I was beginning to be rather "hard up." No weaver's work, no tailor's garments, nor tanner's hides, can stand the wear and tear of such rough travelling as I had had, and the old saying, that a "light heart and a thin pair of breeches carry you a long way," is most decidedly not to be applied to anyone journeying to and fro on a pack-saddle

[p.95]

Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far 133
from the sea.

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but, like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows, and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo, I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came
upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of 361
ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of
Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The [184]
village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu [342]
villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of
angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and
of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts,
and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I
led out into the open air to see what they were like. They 184
appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were
less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to [142]
baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled [291]
those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held
together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed
on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of [304]
other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood 184
of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone
seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu 152
existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity, but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely racial and congenital.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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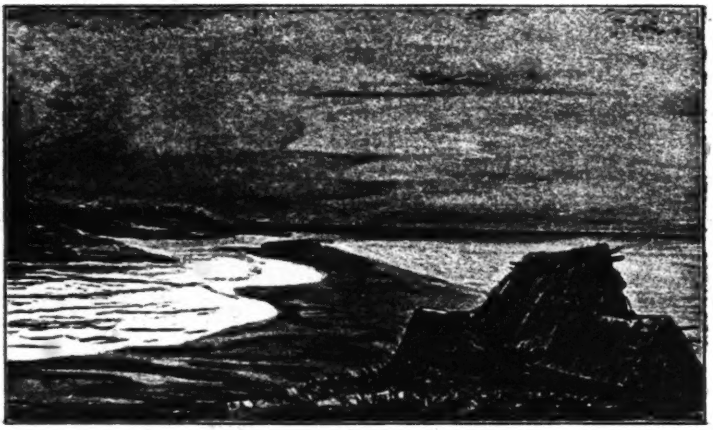

SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

000 It was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai.[1] Saruru,
[361] the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of
491 the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about
291 twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her
[302] shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

142 I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

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[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

136 Herrings are plentiful all along the coast, but fishing stations could not possibly pay, even if any were established, owing to the difficulty and expense of carriage and freight, and the risk that ships would run in calling at such exposed and unprotected shores.

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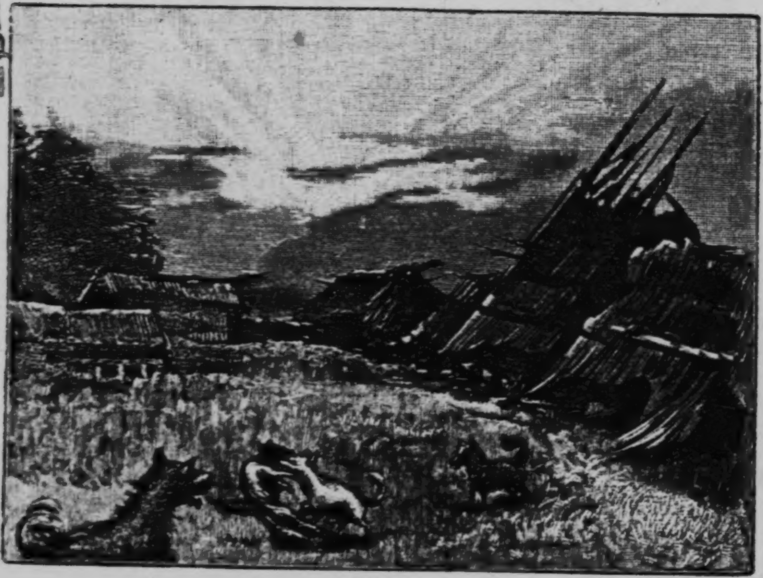
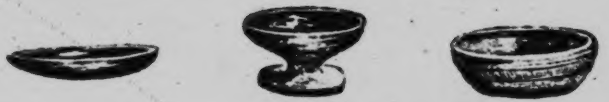


AINU VILLAGE ON THE EAST COAST OF YEZO.



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WOODEN DRINKING VESSELS.

CHAPTER XX.

Ainu Habitations, Storehouses, Trophies, Furniture—Conservatism.

AINU architecture is by no means elaborate, let alone 341
beautiful; but though it is so simple, it is to a certain extent 184
varied, differing according to the exigencies of climate and locality. Huts of one district vary from those of another not only in small details, but also in the whole shape; or if the shape is the same, the materials are different.

The principal characteristics of the Volcano Bay and Saru 342
River huts is, that they have angular roofs and are thatched 184
with tall reeds and arundinaria, while the huts up the Tokachi River are more often covered with bark, though in form they are almost identical with those others.

On the Kutcharo Lake, again, the huts are thatched with tall reeds like those of Volcano Bay, but the building itself has a totally different shape. The roof is semicircular, and each hut is in appearance like the half of a cylinder lying on its rectangular base.

On the north-east coast the huts have either roofs similar to the Kutcharo ones, or else the angle is very obtuse instead of being sharp, as with the Piratori or Volcano Bay huts.

In the Kuriles, at Shikotan, the Ainu have houses exactly similar to those at Piratori.

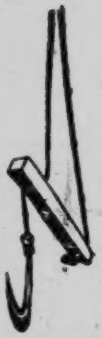
Setting aside the varieties of form, we shall now consider 342
how the huts are built. A frame is first made by horizontally lashing at short intervals long poles to others at the angles of the roof. Often the roof is made first and lifted up bodily on the forked poles on which it rests. Then long reeds and

342 arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the
frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then
placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to
the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown
or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the
door ; and the small east window—usually the only one in
Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu
huts have never more than one storey and never more than one
[184] room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less
severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their
habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at
symmetry or beauty ; all they aim at is to make themselves a
shelter and nothing more.

463 There are no more professional architects than professionals
of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own
342 architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive
[476] the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all
hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through
his work.

591 Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by
all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes
brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to
live in his bride's hut ; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no
better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrange-
ment is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation
for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to
pay no ground-rent ; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the
lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the
materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode
is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to
him, and there he builds his hut as best he can ; and no one is
any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter
[352] of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an
"unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds
322 his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a
517 few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping
412 accommodation ; and during the winter, when fishing is not
practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly
415 carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*) ;
a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.


ROASTING HOOK.

285 Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki.*" A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty 342• The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of 353 dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an 342 additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an [251] "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days 354 are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the [512] negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made 574 to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take 609 good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

574 609 most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

985 The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

356 364 There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier, Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mos- [136] quitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

356 136 Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

● 342 The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

[168] In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death of its owner, or when abandoned; but in the former case the custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

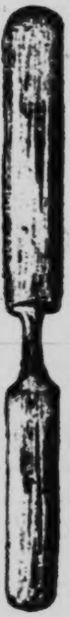
The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their 361
huts when migrating from one island to another. They also 342
burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that [068]
the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no
public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little [344]
way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a
separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be 343
accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures,
the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the
habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on
piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs,
mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these
storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar
ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, [419]
pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve
as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a
glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these
ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their
heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder
when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after [462]
these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and
control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a store-
house could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny [857]
door working at her lord and master's *Atsis* robe. Hour after
hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the
sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were
then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the
ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her
soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her
habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

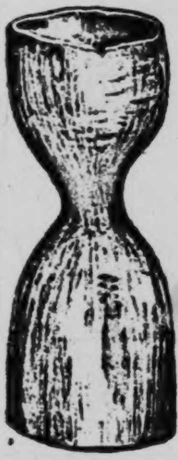
Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at 231
home" is true even among the hairy people ; for if they are 417
kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal
of them on the first occasion that presents itself.



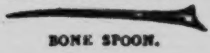
PESTLE.



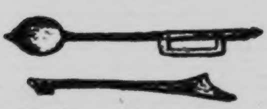
MORTAR.

It may be as well to state that 323
the Ainu have never been known
to make pottery. What they have
of the kind is imported and sold to [439]
or exchanged with them by the -
Japanese. If I were an Irishman 322
I should say that real Ainu pottery 415
is made of wood. Nevertheless,
large shells are often used by them
as drinking vessels where wooden
bowls are not obtainable. It is a [412]
common occurrence in Ainu households
that one bowl is used by
several individuals, and a more
common occurrence still that none
of the bowls are ever washed or [264]
cleaned after having been used.

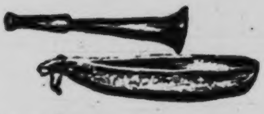
The small Ainu porch which
stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts 342●
answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is
stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden 412
mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner
under the porch. In the more civilised parts of [342]
Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives
use them for pounding millet.



BONE SPOON.



WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.



PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and 262
meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very 58
stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes
a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his
affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and
there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of
closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate
the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids,
no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the
happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom 591
either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for
his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's
hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective
families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The 585
honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride [462]
carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom 342
accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together
as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the
happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and
perched on the forked poles, during which process "family [598]
rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when
the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns
within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds
to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her [304]
arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, 595
for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would
like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

771
776 a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been
821 connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window
[342] is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate
with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme
over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to
[533] cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed
down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the
arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north
[782] an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline
[778] of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as
is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the
sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still
salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered
necessary.

[825] There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at
[796] the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or
star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the
spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am
told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few
names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River
Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'.
Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas
[778] of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and some-
times of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north
or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising
some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly
bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things'
(*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they
lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the
Ancestral Host.

[789] I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward
happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic
ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought
to make it cease.

771 A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must
776 be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that
oina refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a
teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding
that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted
as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

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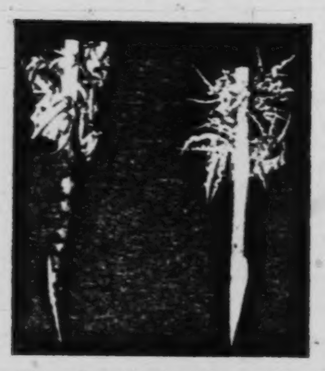

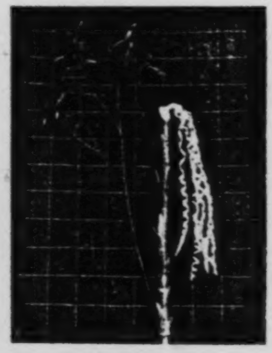

Fig. 1. *Inau* of walnut given to Kinashut Kamui as a reward for help given.
Fig. 2. *Inau* of elder given to Kinashut Kamui for expelling evil spirits.
Fig. 3. *Inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui offered by hunters in the south and by fishermen in the north.

● 342.

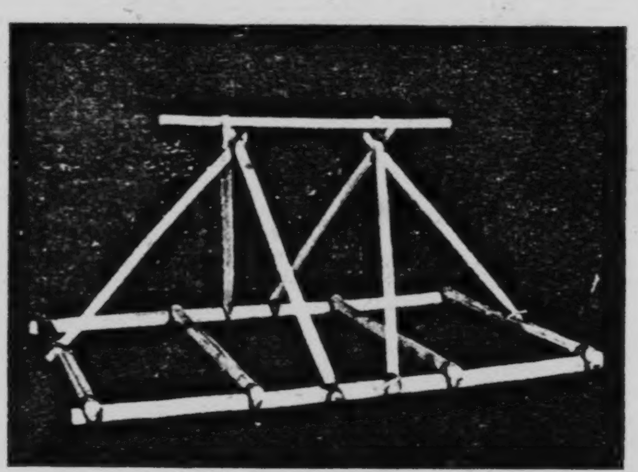

Fig. 4. Model of Ketun-ni

PLATE X. INAU AND MODEL OF ROOF STRUCTURE.

[p. 30,(J)]

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[p. 30, (W)]

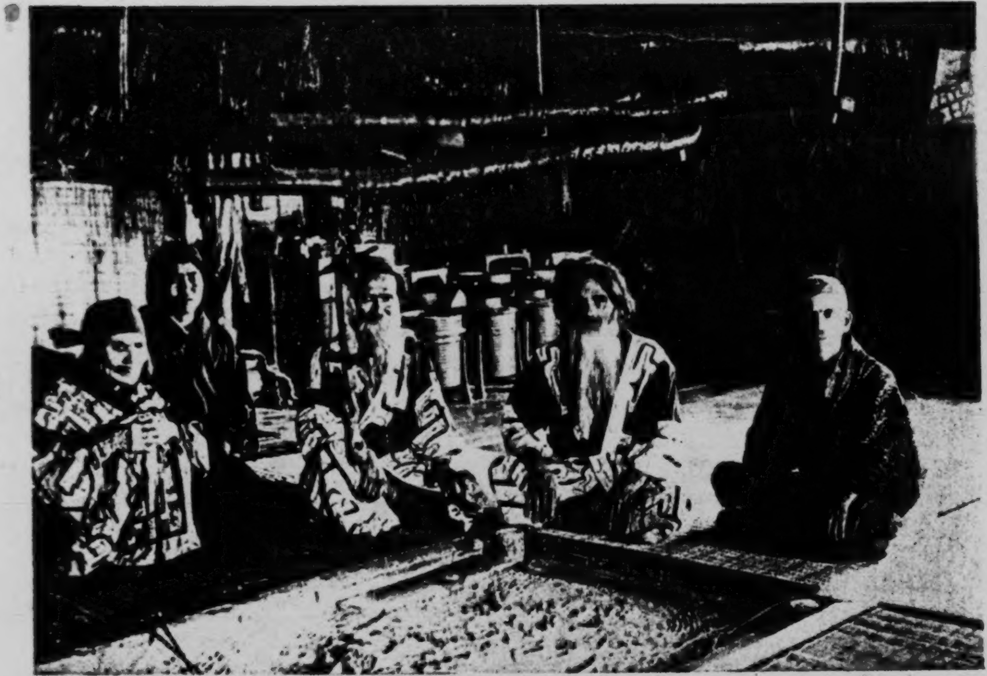

PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

778 782 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (important) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 776 778 354 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami province, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau* are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 [562] [782] [789] Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in childbirth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 182 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we 342
have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the 346
Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much
as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest [192]
thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This [622]
was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on
great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this [796]
district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for
sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration [231]
at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2]
Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, 351
already described, conferred protection and help on those who 342
served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed 778
to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of
this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure [789]
that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

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[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways. N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W. [796]

HEARTH AND HOME

● 342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch- [192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned [766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk [775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed [776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of [556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam [789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against [776]

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[231] [1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was [173] covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which [174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu 342
honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but
for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in [789]
the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering [776]
made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were [231]
attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where [782]
mischievous spirits might lurk. [778]

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house.
Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire- 342
bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 353
5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a 354
heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abesam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennuikesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not
replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. [587]
The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's
brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before [796]
its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusakoro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

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353 from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached
354 to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations
[796] were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders
[782] emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit
354 service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never
764 buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the
774 living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing
one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly,
354 as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the
775 dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground,
[184] the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits
of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth
(Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor
is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely
if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In
this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1]
kamui, powerful *kamui*.

354 The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi,
776 and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder,
777 before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing
embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every
night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out.
When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During
that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that
the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe
[688] betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no
[586] worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who
reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery
as a reason for divorce.

[796] Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of
food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an
[782] oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed
to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth
before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were
erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

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[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

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778
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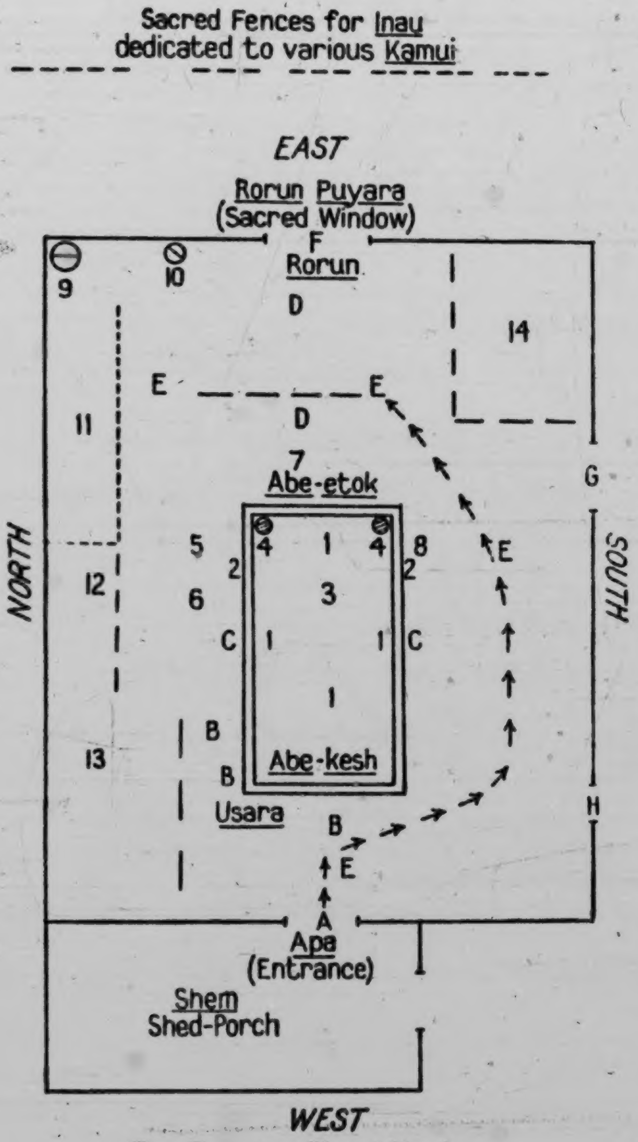
Sacred Fences for Inau
dedicated to various Kamui
EAST
Rorun Puyara
(Sacred Window)
F
Rorun
D
9
10
14
E
E
11
D
7
Abe-etok
G
5
4
1
4
8
2
2
E
NORTH
12
6
3
SOUTH
C
1
1
C
1
B
13
B
Abe-kesh
Usara
B
H
E
A
Apa
(Entrance)
Shem
Shed-Porch
WEST

Text Figure 2.—Plan of Ainu house.

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many 415
kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and 523
sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices
(*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands.
At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet [796]
(*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in [782]
Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*)
to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a [322]
handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend
Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations.
All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a
shintoko.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. 301
They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads 177
may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving
as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective 789
influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of 422
social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting [554]
the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards [304]
the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords 411
(*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords
are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the 177
tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries 353
such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were
allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly 523
Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we 422
might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the
latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both
classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly 353
bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei*
sembe or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice 523
might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far 422
enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the 177
treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu 342 ●

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[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W. [428]

[523] workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they
[777] were knife-worked.

[342] The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects
422 that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and
tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true,
411 are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least
[531] one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu
and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings.
[789] These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in
the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when
there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when
[755] a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for
disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with
great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they
and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith
they are hung over the shoulder.

422 Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden
789 blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil.
Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value
[777] even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck
in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins.
This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner
could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious,
ikoro ikeu, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various
reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike
[773] of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends,
the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from
[532] *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of
sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*,
shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

353 No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes
342 and things under feminine control, including some things prepared
[513] for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the
children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*),
[264] and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and
other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and
it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the
342 bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing
(*kembe*).

574 Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests 342
always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before 574
them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions
indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting
ceremonial arrangements.

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in 342
all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame 353
stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is sus- 417
pended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs
from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen
in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one [415]
(Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the [412]
other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has
a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame [322]
of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and [824]
then slowly dried to rigidity.

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known col- 412
lectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just men- 415
tioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket
(*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important [845]
parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two [789]
take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings,
in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is [755]
also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to
induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled [782]
shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted.
Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually re-
moved and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited
and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth.

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed 352
matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They
are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all
festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in
Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed [527]
before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this [789]
position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated
ramat is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general [774]
similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families.
For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate
XVI.

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

● 342 796 354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house- [184] building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, [174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] [782] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the householder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

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father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be 796
allowed to die out. 354

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-
thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven [782]
inau; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the [782]
officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes
the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows [787]
a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there
is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in
this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water
overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must
be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a
new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, [177]
therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no 342
alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the 789
purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purifica- 354
tion may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has
been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed. 796

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called [782]
Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

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[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the
house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then
782 removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has
returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

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[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: "The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has [114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated [192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for 342
when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil 796
spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not 778
matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic 776
odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*).

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional 342
techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of 796
the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before
the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred [273]
beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation
is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because [656]
the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the [776]
ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never [769]
omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral
cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly
about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account
of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is [273]
not considered necessary for their worship.

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. 342
It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the
making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That 796
elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and 273
also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew [192]
did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the
heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for
religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt
at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful [776]
character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the
south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing
some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low
alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible.

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to 342
describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven 273
inau to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and
beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent [782]
spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer.

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

● 342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 342 273 778 796 [782] Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

342 273 [126] [535]

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them.

342 372 796

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes.

342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had

● 342

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

372 been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to
796 the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct
782 descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony,
[778] and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the
[776] ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by
[776] Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

527 Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon em-
342 ployed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

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[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

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[171] [2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

(*CHISEI NOMI*)

●342 527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of [184] detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch[789]safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] [782] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, 342
are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be 527
admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order.
Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been
dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an
embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places
(10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the [778]
sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro
Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for
which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the 342
top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with 527
four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers 353
(*tukinum*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A [782]
libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind
the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in [415]
text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window
is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often [415]
stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All
the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the [354]
lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to
Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before 342
entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the 576
hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the
householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. 527
To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp
reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend
or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but [178]
a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less
strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and
hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before
the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but
at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards
the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial
salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to [776]
be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit
of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to
the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

● 342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately.
He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with
children at (13).

[554] When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to
342 the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the
beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
527 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to
273 right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking
some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside.
The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that
[411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and
by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

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[301] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
[789] of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

[P 77]

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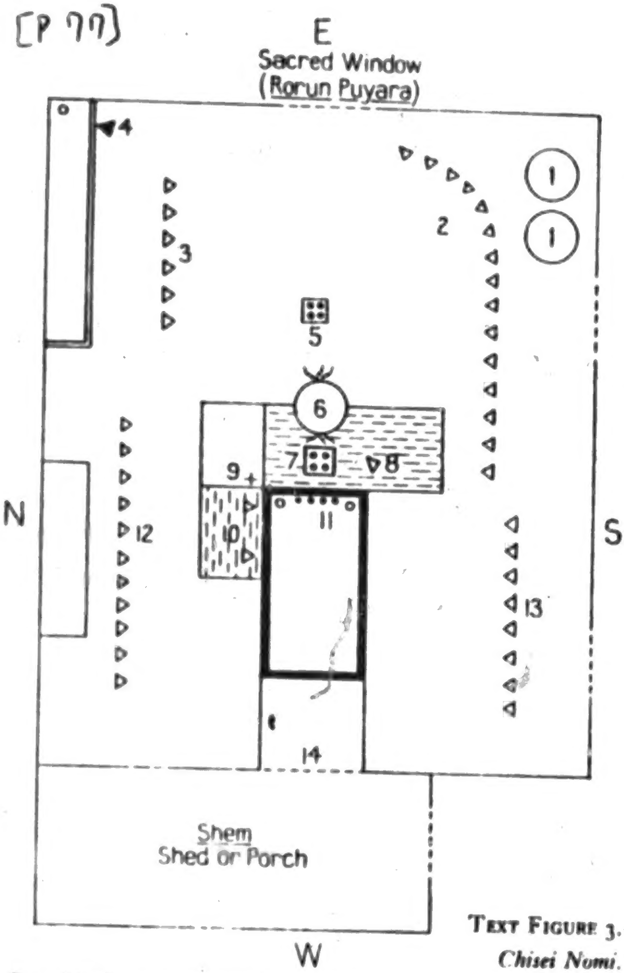

Text Figure 3.— *Chisei Nomi.*

1. *Poro shintoko*, great receptacles for *ashkoro*.
2. Position of male guests on arrival.
3. Male relatives.
4. *Ekashi* offering to Chisei-koro Kamui.
5, 7. Trays with four *tuki* and *ikubashui* each.
6. *Sai shintoko*, for *ashkoro* during the celebrations.
8. *Ekashi* on a sacred mat (*inau-so*) doing *ongami* to Kamui Fuchi before leaving the house.
9. *Chisei-koro inau*.
10. Householder or deputy, and housewife. The former gives a libation to Kamui Fuchi, with a prayer.
11. Four *chehorakakep inau* erected in the ashes of the hearth.
12. Female relatives and elderly female friends.
13. Female guests with children.
14. Entrance.

342 527 782 [411] [292] beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and the ancestors.

To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of [823] [764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

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[114] [533]

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

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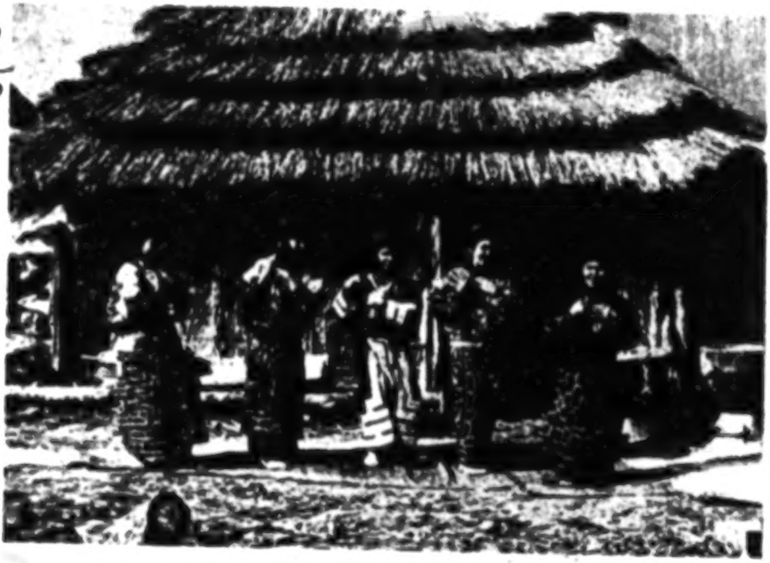

Fig. 1, Women's dance.

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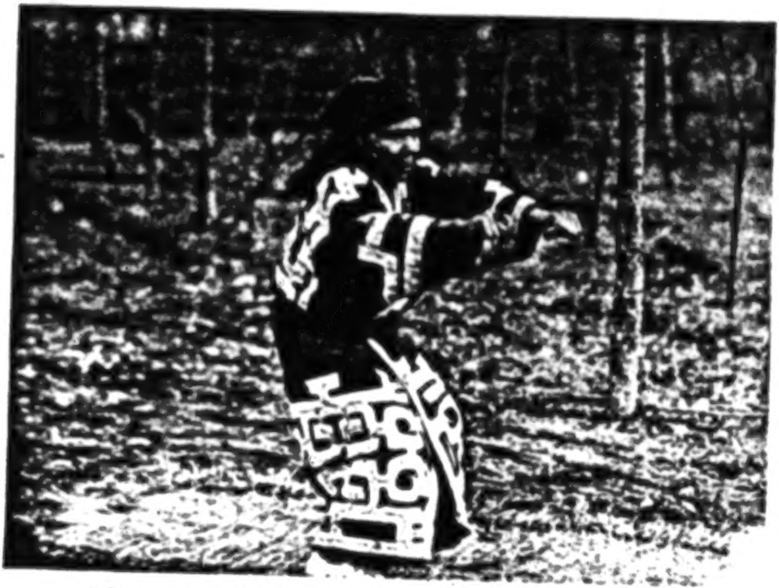

Fig. 2. Tekatte Fuchi, a woman 84 years old, doing the frog dance.

PLATE XXVI. WOMEN DANCING.

[p. 78, (J)]

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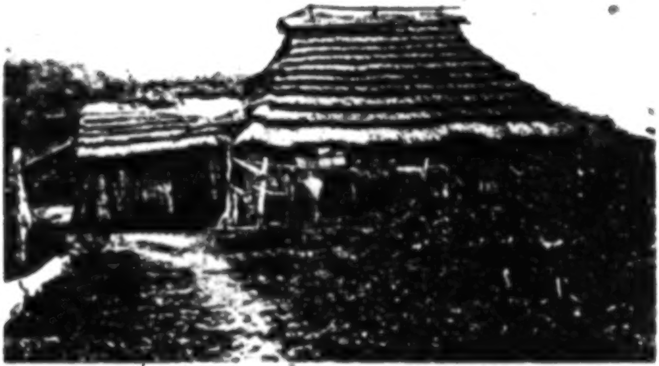

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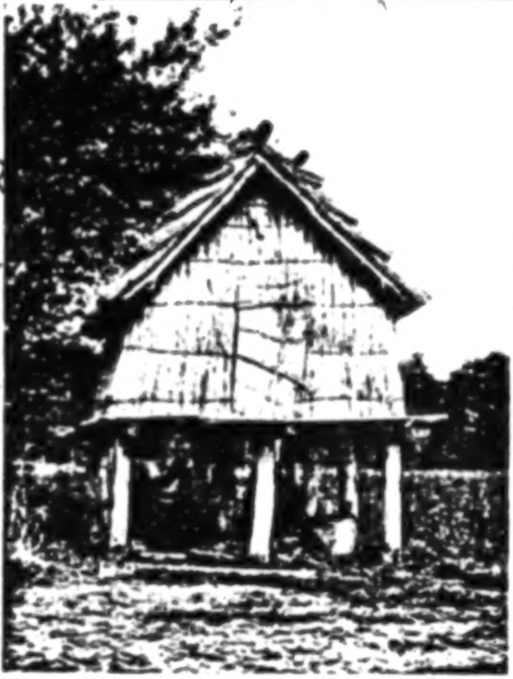

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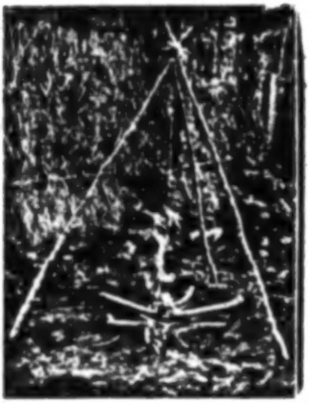

3.

Fig. 1. House with porch, south side. Fig. 2. Store house. Fig. 3. Tripod (*chisei imka*) for purification of new house site.

PLATE XXX. HOUSE, STOREHOUSE AND CEREMONIAL TRIPOD.

[p. 78, (N)]

782

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. 342 ●
It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead
through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone 527
to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the [764]
same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with [823]
the setting sun. [775]

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at
the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the [769]
ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly
out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall [778]
of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to
his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A [273]
young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

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lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, [533]
the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it
was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer [779]
must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M. [827]

342 527 782 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails—or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and
[576] humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not
[562] drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should
[292] keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf,
[789] and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

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secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity 527
of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true 782
Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, [292]
and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*). [789]

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in [582]
its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four back-
ward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No 342
drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near 527
the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the 782
sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the 177
embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up.
There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It
seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is
made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually 342
omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window 527
merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip,
and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* 782
fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on 273
the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are [769]
apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a sub- [796]
stitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by
Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been [115]
confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and
there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter 342
its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the
formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebra- 527
tions, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be 782
arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, 554
mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each
sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence— [516]
guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being
nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the
hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

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[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The [177]
Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

● 342

527 from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the
782 ceremony of Falling Tears.

554 A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu,* Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

342 Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who
527 have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is
778 similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before
782 each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting.
[777] Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and
[184] the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

776 A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neigh-
782 bouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit
184 ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings
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[1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

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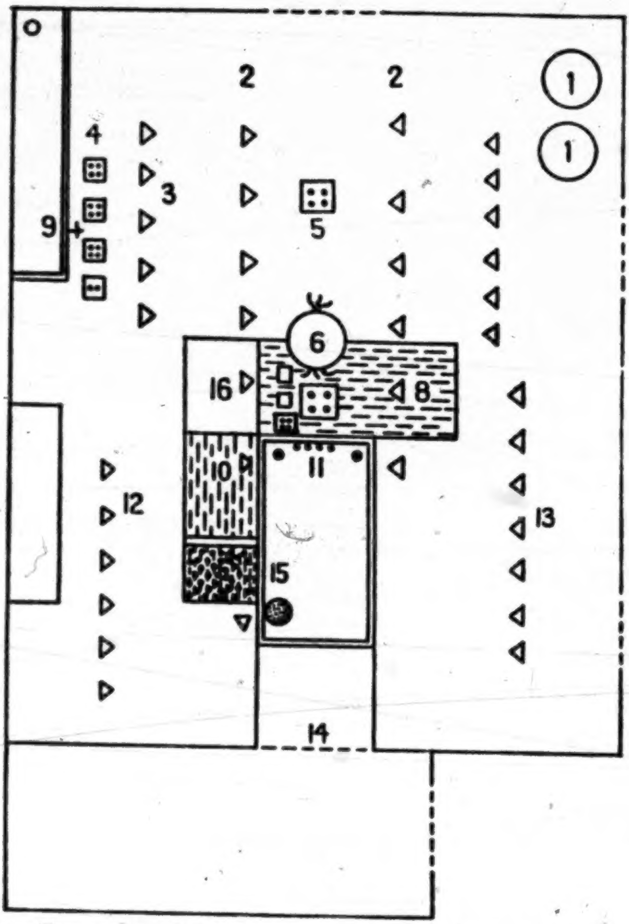

TEXT FIGURE 4.—*Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* (Feast of All Souls, or Falling Tears).

2. Arrangement of *U-eshopki*—mutual sitting 'above the *inau-so*' (mat).
4. Food set apart from 15 for the *shinurapa* offering.
8. Honoured guest.
   Other numbers the same as fig. 3, p. 77.
   The cross at the top left, near 9, indicates the position of *chisei-koro inau* after its removal from its former position near the hearth.
15. Food placed at lower hearth as an offering to Kamui Fuchi and the ancestral host; it is also supposed to derive good influence from proximity to the gods.
16. Food removed from 15 to the head of the hearth for the common meal.

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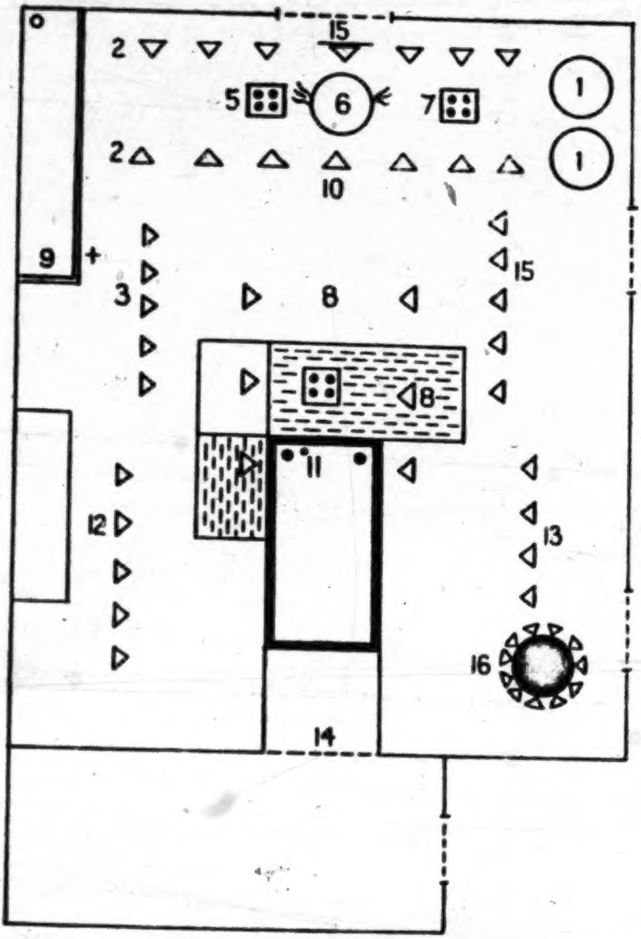

Text Figure 5.—Festivity after the *Shinurapa*: the *Shi-iku* (wassail) *U-eshopki* (mutual sitting).

2. Formation of the *shi-iku* (wassail or real drinking) *u-eshopki* (mutual sitting).
5, 7. Trays for food.
8. The two rows of a small *u-eshopki* at right angles to 2. The 8 on the mat is the position of the honoured guest in the *u-eshopki*.
10. Householder or deputy.
11. One backward-shaven *inau* left after the *shinurapa*.
15. Position of the *sake-iush guru* or wine controller.
16. Women sitting around the lid of a large *shintoko*, singing *upopo*, and tapping or beating it.

A.C.C.—H

[P. 127]

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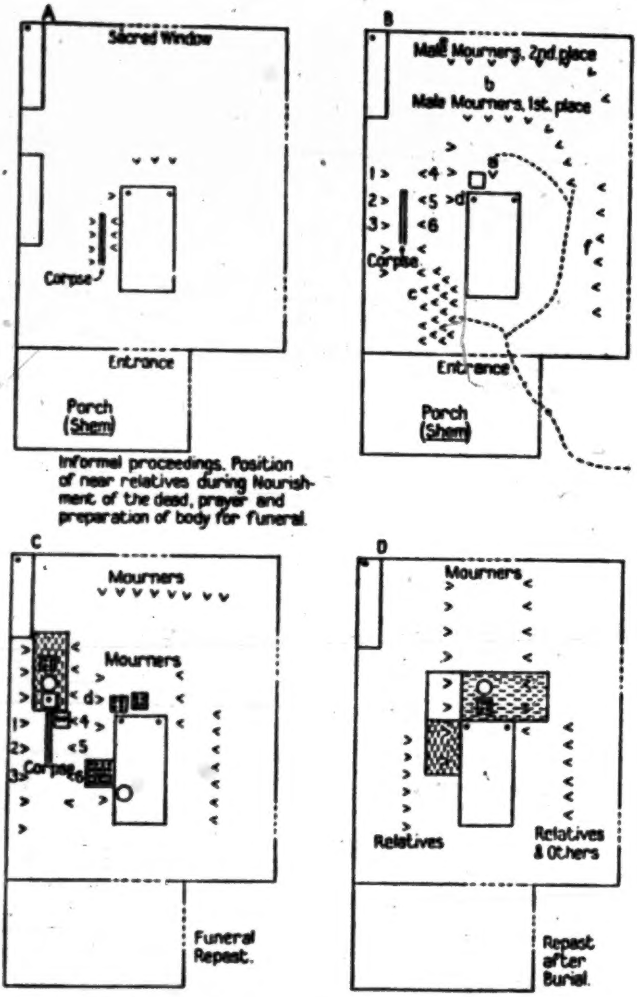
A
Sacred Window
Corpse
Entrance
Porch
(Shem)
B
Male Mourners, 2nd place
b
Male Mourners, 1st place
a
1
2
3
4
5
6
d
Corpse
c
f
Entrance
Porch
(Shem)
C
Mourners
Mourners
d
1
2
3
4
5
6
Corpse
Funeral
Repast.
D
Mourners
Relatives
Relatives
& Others
Repast
after
Burial.

Informal proceedings. Position of near relatives during Nourishment of the dead, prayer and preparation of body for funeral.

Text Figure 7.—Order of Mourners in the Home of the Dead.

A. Informal proceedings. Position of near relatives during the nourishment of the dead, prayer and preparation of the body for the funeral.
B. Arrival of guests.
C. Funeral repast.
D. Repast after burial.

A.C.C.—K

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony 127
from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S. 796

As among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the 825
Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were 782
ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and
gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and
return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in
this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which [231]
was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years
before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this
sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at
a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this [622]
would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there
is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear
for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The
caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*).

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is 252
pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings— 796
large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu
guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on
sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like
confetti.

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the 796
festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi 782
is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and
protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods out-side the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing
east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods
and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress
and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to
the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu [342] ●
dwelling.

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[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

/326/

172 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied
342 and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds
to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly
distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of
[171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than
those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy
hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed
to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took
measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and
one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped
entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu
caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter
was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of
the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background
[317] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj,
i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of
the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the
more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched
from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper.
There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference
in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These
wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to
[768] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter
yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family
had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the
yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the
spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under
the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The
173 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves,
223 the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the
Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary
eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of
a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an
upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled
a tent. The first opening served the eagle who was allured

/326 cont'd/

173 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as com-
223 munication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For
this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and care-
fully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting
[239] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-
feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for
arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eagle-
hunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were
used for lying in wait for the prey.

● 342 The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the
[829] Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered
the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to
[764] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often
that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly-
[769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead
was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death
had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighbor-
hood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of
Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and
123 at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old
Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory
questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the
Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly re-
sembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew
what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had
lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled some-
where from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay
huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer
had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at
all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never
been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by
the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer

II

GROUP STRUCTURE

The Household.

594 591 The basic unit of Ainu social life was the simple family consisting of a father, a mother and their unmarried children. The post-marital residence was usually virilocal; namely a son, when he got married, built a new house of his own near his parent's. But there was no rigid rule of virilocal residence. Thus a man sometimes went to live with his wife's father's territorial group (pp. 13 and 17).

592 ● [342] [354] The Ainu dwelling house, *chise*, was built for permanent use, wooden-framed, rectangular in plan and single-roomed. All the occupants of each house constituted one household, sleeping, cooking and eating together around a fireplace at the centre of the room.

Table *1*.

		Local Groups in Upper Tokapchi						Local Groups in Satnai			
Names of Local Groups (ca. 1880-1885)		Kuttarashi	Nitmap	Pipaushi	Kumaushi	Sanenkoro	Moseushi	Nupokomap	Munhunki	Urekarip	Total
Total Number of Member Houses Identified		8	7	6	8	4	11	9	3	3	59
Composition of Occupants of Each House	Simple family	7	5	4	5	4	9	8	3	3	48
	A widow plus her eldest son's family	1			1						2
	A widow plus her unmarried children		1	1							2
	A widow (? plus her unmarried children)						1	1			2
	A widower plus his eldest son's family						1				1
	A widower (? plus his unmarried children)				1						1
	An unmarried woman		1								1
	An unmarried man				1						1
	Unmarried siblings			1							1

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant
cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note
10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated
in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up
of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all
male househeads and even housewives of the local group came to help the
family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole
could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group.
In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43).
Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter
(pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: ***kotan koru kuru***, man who 622
possesses the ***kotan***, was used by outsiders; the name of the ***kotan*** in which
the headman lived plus ***un kuru***, man who is in such and such a ***kotan***;
aneram ushinnu kuru, man by whom we are relieved; ***kotan shikamak kuru***;
kotan (or utaru) spahane kuru, headman of the ***kotan*** or people; ***utara koru***
kuru, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be
the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was
also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions.
He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group
but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises
organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted
to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower 224
plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about.

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in 224
length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow open- 417
ings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows.
The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level [311]
plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes
of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one [476]
independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2).

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 ob- [114]
served and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396).

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different 224
kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style 342 ●
or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had
four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the [343]
absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental

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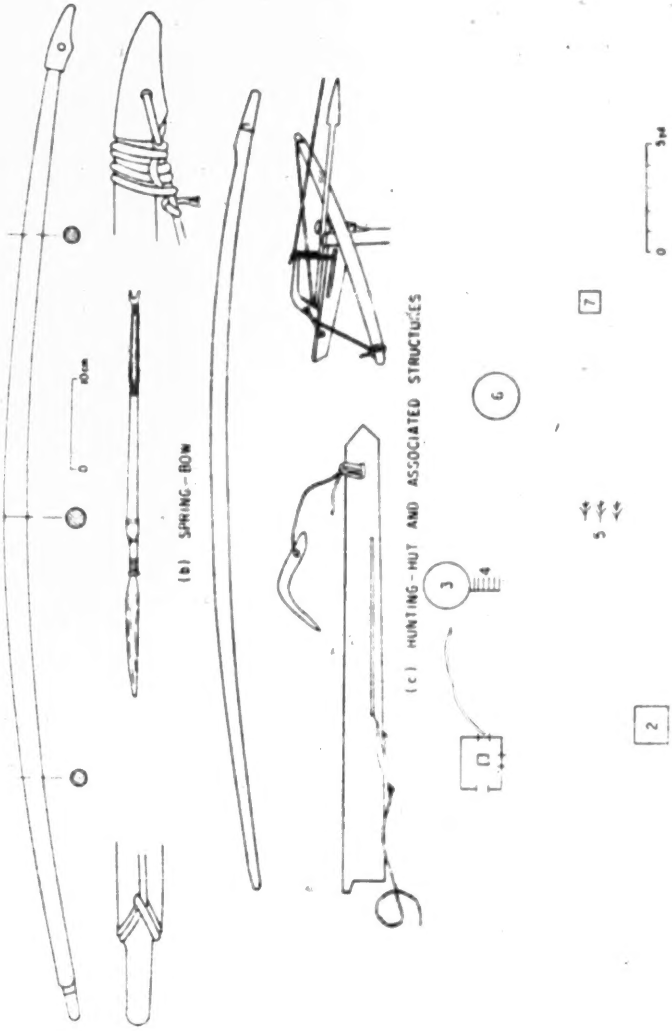
(a) HAND-BOW
0
10cm
(b) SPRING-BOW
(c) HUNTING-HUT AND ASSOCIATED STRUCTURES
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
0
5m

Fig. 5. (a) and (b). Tokyo University Anthropological Institute Collection. (c), reconstructed plan; 1. hunting hut; 2. store-house for meat and skins; 3. ash dump; 4. outdoor alter; 5. dead trees for drying meat; 6. bone dump; 7. store-house for spring-bows and associated gear.

structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement 224
were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and 342 ●
Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source
of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and
the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture
arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu
hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but
also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature.

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary [221]
repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an [476]
individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement
(pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type
to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear
hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting.
The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion,
stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went
round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected
their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from
them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home.
The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing [462]
such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the
deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in.
Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear
hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were
mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually
at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than
could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of
the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the
Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area
of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples
of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that [221]
Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season;
but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in
spring and the second in autumn.

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and 224
autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter 221
food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds [262]

224 bear35). It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
[136] for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
[278] with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand
bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and
arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953).
Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu
[231] habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were
quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
[237] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
[439] anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
[433] ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present
writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight
bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear
gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow
melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
[137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and
berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during
the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the
depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den.
Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been
given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)36).

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources37). The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

[825] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
[342] in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note
36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season.
These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior
than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer,
bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

823 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought
776 to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as ***kimun iworu***, *iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. ***Kimun iworu*** was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below ***kimun iworu***.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, ***tekehe utari***, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, ***nai koru kamui***, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to
[361] the river-owning ***kamui***[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature
776 spirits, ***kamui***. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of win-
342 dow which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other ***kamui*** outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now
[178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

825 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu.

776 The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a) The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

NOTES

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● 342

(1) Population of The Ainu†

Date of Census			Number of Ainu Houses	Ainu Population	Average Inhabitants per House
1804	Hokkaido	East Ainu†† Territory	2927	12753	4.36
		West Ainu Territory	?	8944	
		Total		21697	
		Saghalin	?	2100	
1822	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2624	12028	4.58
		West Ainu Territory	2125	9121	4.29
		Total	4749	21149	
		Saghalin	357	2571	7.20
1854	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2280	10883	4.77
		West Ainu Territory	1127	5253	4.66
		Total	3407	16136	
		Saghalin	373	2669	7.16
1873	Hokkaido	Ishikari†††	140	576	
		Shiribeshi	255	1005	
		Woshima	65	259	
		Ifuri	863	3537	
		Hitaka	989	5048	
		Tokapchi	275	1449	
		Kusuri	349	1576	
		Nemoro	120	480	
		Kitami	333	1393	
		Teshio	117	507	
		Total	3506	15830	4.52
		Chishima (Kurile Islands)	93	442	4.75

† Source: census data given in Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145 and p. 148.

†† For details on East and West Ainu Territories see Note 6.

††† Names of administrative divisions of Hokkaido established by law enacted in 1869.

175 361 "basho" (districts) on Etorof of the Kurile Islands not one contained twenty houses. Only a few had a population of more than a hundred. In some cases a single house constituted a settlement" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 27).

[114] For more concrete and comprehensive data on the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in those gathering days, reference should be made to T. MATUURA, "Yezo-Nissi-shū" (Collected Diaries in Yezo, edited by A. MASAMUNE, 1937). The book covers a series of explorations made in Ainu territories in 1857-1858 by Takeshiro Matsuura, an official of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In spite of the extremely great value of the data it contains, the book has never received a wide utilization it deserves. Hence the data from his diaries have been tabulated by the present writer as follows:

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Tokapchi River (in descending order of location)

Name of Settlement	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
Kamuiroki	1	4	
(No name mentioned)	2	5, 4 (the latter represented by an old woman).	Located near Satteki.
(No name mentioned)	2	2, 8	
Makunbetu	1	4	
Nitomafu (Nitmap)	3	23 in total	Arayok, the headman, and his lineage.
Okatomanai	3	2, 5, 7	
Hibaushi (Pipaushi)	2	(Number not stated)	
Chifuru	1	5	
Saoroputo	3	4, 5, 5	
Memroputo	2	4, 4	
Bibairuputo (Pipairuputu)	8	2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7	
Obereberefu	2	4, 4	
Nubuka	4	(Number not stated)	
Hetchara	1	(Number not stated)	
Jiroto	5		
Horonokotcha	2		
Iikanhetu	10		
Kamokinai	4		
Yamwakkahira	Some		Some millet fields.
Furukeshi (Chyota)	8		
Onnenai	2		
Tohioka	2		
Seyoi	4		
Tanneota	6		
Barautuka	2		

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying 192
situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own 224
settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (*to own*) *iworu*', '*ku* (*I*) *kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (*to be at*) *utar* (*people*) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance.

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial 423
distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136).

(59) The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some 342
writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to 361
the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement.

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the
lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the [778]
altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in
which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning [776]
of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper

● 342 seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in 361 the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper 776 side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA, 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for [783] human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

778 (60) The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the 776 data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom 342 of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "Implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*, [825] set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are *kámui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

Hence the great sanctity in which the
window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest 778
violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed 776
of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, 342 ●
my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information ob- [784]
tained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's:
the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches
of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu
house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11).

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my [171]
attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear
killed.

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated struc- 342
tures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, 343
these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of [178]
arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent
times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what re- [538]
mains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics
known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62).

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, 342
altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido 343
Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative posi- 361
tion of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the 778
storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the 184
altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

/333 cont./

175 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors
342 of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/
description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of
3-4 *ken* (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,
and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which
steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement,
175 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the
342 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in
354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially
352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground
177 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be
171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia
Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout.
Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

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1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, *Nippon*, VII, p. 184).

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

[113] [129] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in *Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago* /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, *Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia*

[i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

/333 cont./

175 4. (cont.)
●342 1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854
354 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 --
113 May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97,
352 98.
177
171

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

175 detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the
342 sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low
352 plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers,
354 in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either
[177] side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller
[171] yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak
earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for
the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe
sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it
[184] at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin
those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

[113] 6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.